



Bolshevik



# Congresses & Conferences

A Synopsis of Bolshevik Congresses and Conferences  
between 1903 and 1952

Svitlana M  
Erdogan A

A synopsis  
Of  
Bolshevik  
Congresses  
&  
Conferences  
1903 - 1952

Svitlana M, Erdogan A

Sources:

Institute of Marxism-Leninism under the Central Committee of the CPSU

Most of the books (*although not in one*) may be found (in Russian) on the websites:

<http://militera.lib.ru/>

Public Library ([publ.lib.ru](http://publ.lib.ru/)),

<https://www.prilib.ru/>

<https://www.politpros.com/>

<http://elib.shpl.ru/>

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ПЕРВЫЙ СЪЕЗД  
РСДРП

ДОКУМЕНТЫ  
И  
МАТЕРИАЛЫ



### **First Congress of the RSDLP. March 1898.**

The first congress of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party, which proclaimed the formation of the RSDLP, was held in March 1898.

The congress took place on the verge of two centuries, in one of the most difficult periods in the history of the struggle for the creation of a truly Marxist Social Democratic Labor Party in Russia. He completed the period of "childhood and adolescence" in the development of the party, which began, according to Lenin, with the formation of the Petersburg Union of the Struggle for the Liberation of the Working Class. "With the rapidity of the epidemic," wrote Lenin, characterizing this period, "the craze of the intelligentsia for the struggle against populism and the appeal to the workers, the craze of workers for strikes, spreads. The movement is making tremendous strides. Most managers are very young people ... Due to their youth, they are unprepared for practical work and leave the stage with amazing speed. But the scope of their work was for the most part very wide ... The struggle forced them to learn ... The Social Democrats brought up on this struggle went into the labor movement, **"not for a minute" forgetting either the theory of Marxism**, which illuminated them with a bright light, or **the task of overthrowing the autocracy**."

The formation of the party in the spring of 1898 was the most striking and, at the same time, the last deed of the Social Democrats of this strip".

The 90s of the last century were the years of rapid industrial development in Russia and the growth of the mass labor movement. By the end of the 19th century, **capitalist Russia** was entering a new era - the era of imperialism - and was becoming the focal point of imperialist contradictions. The center of the world revolutionary movement moved to Russia.

The industrial upsurge of the 1990s, driven by the influx of foreign capital, the rapid ruin of small producers and the availability of cheap labor, in the social sphere led to sharp class differentiation, bringing

to the stage a powerful new revolutionary force - the industrial proletariat. The 90s were years of incessant strikes in workshops and factories, accompanied by student unrest. Strikes are still of an economic nature, but, growing in breadth and depth, they clearly acquire the features of an organized movement.

In 1892, a strip of strikes took place in the Donetsk Basin and a number of cities in the Western Region: in Lodz, Warsaw, Riga, and others. The strike movement began to take on an especially large size in the mid-1890s. In 1895-1896 the famous St. Petersburg strikes take place, mainly in the textile industry. Unprecedented in their organization, steadfastness and self-control, the St. Petersburg strikes involved up to 35,000 people. From St. Petersburg they spread to other industrial centers of Russia and spill over into a powerful wave of the mass organized labor movement.

In the spring and summer of 1895 workers of the railway depot at the Moscow-Kursk station, workers, and workers of Prokhorov's weaving factory in Moscow, workers of the Mazurin and Gerasimov factory in Kuskovo near Moscow, workers of the K. and S. Popov's warehouse workers went on strike.

In the spring of 1895, great strikes broke out at the Yaroslavl Manufactory, in Teikovo and Ivanovo-Voznesensk; strikes are suppressed with the help of troops; the workers of Nizhny Novgorod, Yekaterinoslav and other cities are worried.

On the basis of the growth of the labor movement, as well as under the influence of the Western European labor movement, Marxist circles and groups began to appear and rapidly grow in Russia. Back in 1883, **the first Marxist group, Emancipation of Labor**, organized by G.V. Plekhanov, began to operate abroad. Despite a number of major errors in its theoretical activity, which were the embryo of the future Menshevik views of its leaders, the Emancipation of Labor group did an enormous amount of work to spread the ideas of scientific socialism in Russia.

The wide spread of Marxism in Russia was accompanied by its theoretical battles against populism. Narodism, whose utopian theory is shattered by reality, is still trying to maintain its former positions, to repel the successful offensive of Marxism. In the decisive battles with Narodism, G.V. Plekhanov delivered the first main blow to the Narodnik system of views in the 1890s. The ideological defeat of populism was completed by V.I. Lenin.

Simultaneously with the struggle against populism, Lenin opposed the bourgeois trend, covered by Marxism, against the so-called "legal Marxism" (Struve, Tugan-Baranovsky). Lenin sharply rebuffs the attempts of **"legal Marxists" to distort revolutionary Marxism**, he exposes the bourgeois essence of these accomplices of capitalism.

The struggle of G.V. Plekhanov and V.I. Lenin against populism, then the struggle of V.I. revolutionary social democracy.

Developing rapidly, Social Democratic circles and Marxist groups are doing a great job of spreading the ideas of revolutionary Marxism and the programmatic provisions of Social Democracy. However, neither the Emancipation of Labor group abroad, nor the Marxist circles and groups that existed then in Russia, were not associated with the mass workers' movement. The Emancipation of Labor group only theoretically founded Social Democracy and took the first step towards the labor movement.

**The isolation of socialism from the labor movement** led to the weakness of both socialism and the labor movement. It was necessary to create a proletarian party that would be able to direct the spontaneous movement of workers against individual exploiters into the channel of an organized struggle against autocracy and capitalism, to combine the ideas of scientific socialism with the workers' movement.

The task of uniting scattered circles and groups into a single socialist workers' party was first put forward by Lenin in 1894 in his work "Who are" the friends of the people "and how do they fight against the Social Democrats?" In this remarkable work, which was the manifesto

of the emerging party, along with a brilliant criticism of the populist ideology, **Lenin outlined the foundations of revolutionary Marxism**, defined **the final and immediate tasks** of the Russian proletariat and the role of the working class as the dominant of the revolution.

For the first time in this work, Lenin put forward **the idea of a revolutionary alliance of workers and peasants as the main means** of overthrowing tsarism, the landowners, and the bourgeoisie. "It is to the class of workers," wrote Lenin, "that the Social Democrats pay all their attention and all their activity. When its progressive representatives assimilate the ideas of scientific socialism, the idea of the historical role of the Russian worker, when these ideas become widespread and strong organizations are created among the workers that transform the present scattered economic war of the workers into a conscious class struggle, then the Russian WORKER, having risen at the head of all democratic elements, will overthrow absolutism and lead the RUSSIAN PROLETARIAT (alongside the proletariat of ALL COUNTRIES), a direct path of open political struggle to a VICTORY COMMUNIST REVOLUTION: ".

In defining the tasks of Russian Social-Democracy, Lenin emphasized in this work the need to organize a militant proletarian party, the party of the communist revolution, from scattered Marxist circles and groups.

Lenin began to implement the idea of creating a unified Social Democratic Party in practice. In 1895 he united all the Marxist circles in St. Petersburg in the "Union for the Struggle for the Liberation of the Working Class", which within a short time became the de facto leading center of the emerging Russian Social Democracy. The appearance of the Petersburg Union of Struggle opens a new period in the history of Russian Social Democracy. From now on, Russian Social Democracy appears on the historical arena not only as a theoretical trend, but also "as a social movement, as an upsurge of the masses, as a political party."

Lenin's St. Petersburg Union of Struggle was **built on the principle of the strictest centralism**. The members of the Union are divided into regional groups (4-5 people each), the general leadership of which is concentrated in the hands of the central core. The periphery of the organization consists of a network of workers' circles connected with the central group through the organizers of the district. The Union was the first of the social democratic organizations in Russia to carry out the transition from propaganda of the ideas of socialism in closed circles to broad agitation among the masses of the proletariat, for the first time linking this agitation and the call for the struggle **against capitalism with the political struggle against the autocracy**.

During the strike upsurge of 1895-1896. The union issued a number of political proclamations and took a direct part in the leadership of the strike struggle. In the transition to new forms of work, the main nucleus of the Union withstood the struggle against the opportunist tendencies that were already revealed then within Social Democracy, which boiled down to attempts to reduce social democratic activity to a narrow economic struggle. "... the first social democrats ...," Lenin wrote later in "What is to be done?", Describing the work of the revolutionary Social Democrats of this period, "zealously engaged in economic agitation ... not only did they not consider it their only task, but, on the contrary, from the very beginning they put forward the broadest historical tasks of Russian Social-Democracy in general and the task of overthrowing the autocracy in particular".

By knocking together and carefully selecting the best revolutionary forces around the "Union of Struggle", Lenin did not confine himself only to work in St. Petersburg: he sets the specific task of creating an all-Russian organization. To this end, the Petersburg "Union of Struggle" is establishing broad ties with social democratic organizations in other cities. The Union's ties with Moscow, Vilno, Kiev, Nizhny Novgorod, Samara, Saratov, Orekhovo-Zuev, Yaroslavl, Orel, Tver, Vladimir, Ivanovo-Voznesensk, Minsk, Yekaterinoslav are known.

In the spring of 1895, Lenin traveled abroad to get acquainted with the social democratic movement of the West and to establish permanent contact with the foreign group "Emancipation of Labor".

At the end of 1895, under the leadership of Lenin, the Union undertook the publication of the Social-Democratic newspaper **Rabocheye Delo**, which, in Lenin's mind, was to be the organ of the future united party. The attempt to publish the newspaper by the Union failed. The first issue of the newspaper, ready to print, is captured by the police.

Lenin's first attempt was made to build a militant party of the proletariat, a party of a new type, which, in contrast to Western European parties, would set its main task as the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeois-landlord system.

**Petersburg "Union of Struggle"** gave impetus to the unification of individual social democratic circles in other cities of Russia. Soon, following his example, **the Ivanovo-Voznesensk Workers' Union** was formed. By 1896, with the direct help of Lenin, who maintained contact with Moscow through meetings with A.I. Elizarova and S.I. Mitskevich, one of the founders of the Social Democratic group in Moscow, the social democratic movement was developing widely in Moscow.

In January 1896, individual Social-Democratic groups united in the Moscow "Workers' Union", which from the very first days develops a lot of work, embracing the leadership of the masses of the Moscow proletariat. Despite a number of major failures, it soon numbers up to 1,000 workers. To celebrate the 25th anniversary of the Paris Commune, the Union sends an address to the French Socialists, signed by 600 workers from 28 factories and plants. In July 1896, the Union, on behalf of 1000 members, sent a mandate to V. I. Zasulich for representation at the London International Socialist Congress.

**The Moscow "Workers' Union"** initially conducts mainly propaganda work, but under the influence of the strike movement in St. Petersburg, it sharply changes its tactics: it goes over to extensive propaganda work. The Central Committee of the Union issues several appeals with an appeal to support the St. Petersburg comrades with a

general strike. At the call of the Union, factories and factories are on strike in Moscow, rising one after another, demanding an increase in prices and payment for coronation days.

**Major arrests in July 1896** temporarily hinder the work of the Union, but despite this, it continues to exist. By the beginning of 1898, the Moscow "Workers' Union", following the example of St. Petersburg, adopted the name "Union of Struggle for the Liberation of the Working Class."

In 1897, social democratic organizations emerged in the large industrial centers of the south. In March 1897, the Union of Struggle for the Liberation of the Working Class was created **in Kiev**. As early as 1896, as a result of disputes about the expediency of switching from propaganda to agitation, a new Social Democratic group, Rabocheye Delo, emerged in Kiev from social democratic groups. The group decides, along with propaganda, to start new forms of work - to widespread agitation. During 1897, she issued a number of proclamations and published two issues of the Kiev working sheet "Vperyod". The newspaper, however, is not of a sustained political character. It also puts forward the main task of the economic struggle.

In March 1897, on the initiative of the Rabocheye Delo group, a conference of representatives of St. Petersburg, the group of Polish Social Democrats in Kiev and the Rabocheye Delo group was convened. The conference passed a resolution to rename all Russian Social Democratic organizations, following the example of St. Petersburg, into the **"Unions of the Struggle for the Liberation of the Working Class."**

In December 1897, the Yekaterinoslav "Union of Struggle" was organized. The leading role in its creation belongs to one of the members of the Petersburg "Union of Struggle", exiled to Yekaterinoslav, a student of Lenin - the worker Babushkin. Following the example of St. Petersburg, the Yekaterinoslav "Union of Struggle" laid the foundation for the widespread use of agitation among workers there. The union establishes contacts with factory workers, collects information about working conditions in factories. During

February 1898 he published a number of leaflets for workers of 7 factories in the amount of 2-3 thousand copies.

In 1897, the "General Jewish Workers' Union in Lithuania, Poland, and Russia" (**Bund**) **was created**, which united mainly semi-proletarian elements of Jewish artisans in the western regions of Russia. By the end of the 1990s, the Bund was a fairly large organization in Russia.

In 1897-1898, social democratic organizations emerged in Kharkov, Odessa, Rostov-on-Don, Nizhny Novgorod, Samara, Voronezh, Transcaucasia, and other places.

The Tiflis Social Democratic Organization plays an important role in Transcaucasia. **In 1898, JV Stalin began his work in the Tiflis Marxist group "Mesamedasi".**

In close contact with the workers, the emerging Social-Democratic organizations carry on extensive agitation everywhere and, through the advanced workers, take part in the leadership of the strike struggle.

The **arrest of Lenin in December 1895** dealt a serious blow to the Petersburg Union of Struggle. He divorced Lenin for some time from the direct leadership of the struggle to create the party. However, even from prison, Lenin continues to direct the activities of the Union for the unification of social democracy. He sent letters in which he gave guidelines, and, in the words of NK Krupskaya, "rushes" with the organization of the party \*.

In prison, Lenin wrote and handed over to the wild the brochure "On Strikes", where he also compiled and transmitted to the members of the Petersburg "Union of Struggle" for the future united revolutionary organization "Draft and Explanation of the Program of the Social Democratic Party," the proletariat.

At the end of 1897, already in exile, Lenin wrote his programmatic work "**Tasks of the Russian Social-Democrats.**" In it, Lenin, with ingenious perspicacity, outlines the tasks facing Russian Social Democracy and emphatically calls for the unification of scattered and scattered circles, Social Democratic groups and the "Struggle Unions" into a single Social Democratic Labor Party.



As an example, the model on which a revolutionary party in Russia should be built, Lenin takes the Petersburg Union of Struggle, created by him, "... an organization uniting at least the largest centers of the labor movement in Russia (the St. Petersburg, Moscow Vladimirsky, southern and most important cities like Odessa, Kiev, Saratov, etc.), which has a revolutionary organ and enjoys the same prestige among the Russian workers as the "Union of Struggle" enjoys among the St. Petersburg workers ... organization, - writes Lenin, - would be the largest political factor in modern Russia ".

The members of the St. Petersburg Union of Struggle who remained at liberty are trying to put into practice Lenin's directive to organize a Social Democratic Party and to convene a party congress. "Vladimir Ilyich insisted on the preparation of the party congress in every possible way," NK Krupskaya recalled.

In July 1896, NK Krupskaya went to the south to convene a congress on behalf of the Petersburg Union of Struggle. In Poltava, at a meeting with representatives of the Kiev Social Democratic organization, she agrees to convene a party congress and publish an illegal party organ.

The arrests and exile to Siberia of the major leaders of the Petersburg "Union of Struggle" headed by Lenin, and the strengthening of the opportunist wing within the Union after that, did not, however, give St. Petersburg an opportunity to practically implement Lenin's idea of convening an All-Russian Congress. But the slogan was given, and the experience made by St. Petersburg became a shining example for other social democratic organizations in Russia.

Under the influence of St. Petersburg, a number of other Social Democratic organizations came to the idea of convening a congress. The question of ties with other Social Democratic organizations and the convocation of a congress is raised by the Moscow "Workers' Union". In April 1896, according to the stories of M. Vladimirsky, the first steps were taken by the Moscow organization to convene the congress, and a detailed congress program was worked out. However, the defeat of the Moscow Social-Democrats organization in 1896 prevented Muscovites from implementing the idea of convening a congress.

The question of uniting social democratic groups into one party was raised in 1897 at the Zurich (Switzerland) meeting of representatives of St. Petersburg, Vilna, Kiev social democratic organizations and the foreign "Union of Russian Social Democrats".

The practical solution of the issue of preparation and convocation of the congress was carried out by the Kiev Social-Democratic organization, which survived the police routines, with a good conspiratorial apparatus. She had close ties with the Petersburg Union of Struggle. Representatives of the Kiev organization often visited St. Petersburg, attended meetings of the St. Petersburg Union of Struggle.

The people of Kiev were well acquainted with Lenin's programmatic works. Lenin's manuscript "The Tasks of the Russian Social-Democrats," sent to Kiev by the St. Petersburg Union of Struggle, was read by all the leaders of the Kiev Social-Democratic organization.

An attempt to convene a congress of the Kiev Social-Democrats the organization **Rabocheye Delo made it back in March 1897**. The attempt ended in failure. Representatives of St. Petersburg, a group of Polish Social Democrats in Kiev and the Kiev Social Democratic group Rabocheye Delo, who attended the congress, arrange a conference instead of the congress, which decides to organize an all-Russian newspaper in Kiev and entrusts the practical work to prepare the congress to a specially selected group of the "Rabochaya Gazeta".

Through the efforts of this group, after preparatory work, the first congress of the RSDLP was convened.

Before the convocation of the congress, the people of Kiev managed to organize the publication of the newspaper. In August 1897, the first issue was published and in December (marked November) 1897 the second issue of Rabochaya Gazeta was published. **Both issues promoted the idea of creating a party**. The newspaper had not yet had a clearly expressed political character. Designed, according to the participants in the congress, for the "gray" reader, it was too adapted to the level of the backward working masses and did not correspond to the general upsurge and character of the labor movement. The second issue of the newspaper, in comparison with the first, had a clearer political character. The leading article "The Immediate Tasks

of the Russian Labor Movement" emphasized the need to create a Russian workers' party and put forward the main goal of the struggle for socialism, and the immediate task - the overthrow of the autocracy and the conquest of political freedom.

The congress was convened in an atmosphere when an **opportunistic, "economist" trend** began to emerge among Russian social democracy, the essence of which was to reject political struggle, to recognize the need to fight only for everyday economic needs. Difficulties in the transition to new methods of work, the growing **influence of revisionism (Bernsteinism)** in the international arena, finally, the arrests of prominent leaders of revolutionary Social Democracy led by Lenin, the transfer of leadership in a number of social democratic organizations into the hands of the "young" contributed to the spread of "Economism." Opportunist ideas could gradually not lead the struggle of the working class, lead it to the assault on autocracy, to the assault on capitalism.

The congress elected a Central Committee of three people - representatives of the Petersburg "Union of Struggle", the Kiev "Rabochaya Gazeta" and the Bund. The official organ of the party was recognized by the congress "Rabochaya Gazeta".

The congress approved the decision to issue the "Manifesto" of the party, entrusting its compilation to the Central Committee.

As is known, **the "Manifesto" of the Congress was written by the legal Marxist P. B. Struve**, on the instructions and under the **supervision of S. I. Radchenko**. Dictated to a large extent by the representative of the Leninist trend, the last of the "old men" - S.I. Radchenko, political struggle against the general tasks of the labor movement. "Political freedom," the Manifesto emphasized, "is needed by the Russian proletariat, just as clean air is needed for healthy breathing. She is the main condition for his free development and a successful struggle for partial improvements and final liberation.

But the Russian proletariat can win the political freedom it needs only by itself.

The further to the east of Europe, the politically weaker, cowardly, and meaner the bourgeoisie becomes, the greater the cultural, political tasks fall to the lot of the proletariat. On its strong shoulders, the Russian working class must endure and will bear the task of winning political freedom”.

The Manifesto also correctly noted that **the conquest of political freedom is only the first step towards the accomplishment of the great historical task of the proletariat** - towards the creation of a new social system in which there will be no place for the exploitation of man by man.

Having proclaimed the founding of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party, the congress did not create, however, the party as a single whole, it failed to unite and tie together the local Social Democratic organizations. Immediately after the congress, the police destroyed the central organizations of the party and carried out mass arrests in 27 cities of European Russia, including the congress participants. The newly organized party has turned, in Lenin's words, "into a shapeless conglomerate of local party organizations "named against the inclusion of this word in the name of the party, motivating its opinion by the fact that in fact, a small number of workers are included in the social democratic organizations and what to call the party" workers " would be "imposture." Opinions were divided and **by a majority of votes the congress rejected the proposal to include the word "worker"** in the name of the party. As a result of discussions, the congress approved the name of the organization "Russian Social Democratic Party." The word "worker" was included in the name of the party after Congress, when drawing up the "Manifesto", with the consent of two members of the Central Committee.

When discussing the next issue on the agenda - about the attitude towards the PPS (Polish Socialist Party) - the congress resolved the general program issue about the attitude of the party to the national question, making an extremely important decision in principle to recognize the right of self-determination for each nation.

The congress heard a number of reports from local delegates and discussed the question of organizing the party. The discussion of the

last question resulted in a number of decisions of the congress on the basic principles of the organizational structure of the party. These decisions, however, far from corresponded to the tasks of building the party, which Lenin had insistently put forward in the mid-1890s. The decisions of the congress did not at all take into account **the Leninist principles of centralism** on which the Petersburg Union of Struggle was built. They did not ensure the building of a revolutionary militant party of the proletariat - a party of a new type, fast and accurate implementation of the instructions of the center on the ground.

Particularly weak points in organizational decisions were those on the autonomy of local committees. They provided local committees with independence up to the right to decide in each individual case the issue of the acceptability of certain decisions of the Central Committee. Great independence was also given to the Bund, which was recognized by the congress as an autonomous organization in matters "concerning the especially Jewish proletariat."

The right of local committees to decide in each individual case the issue of the acceptability of certain decisions of the Central Committee ran counter to Lenin's organizational principles of building the party. The decisions of the congress could not lead to the centralization of the party, to its organizational strengthening, they opened boundless scope for opportunistic actions in the party. The point about granting broad independence to local committees ran counter to the Leninist principles of democratic centralism, which distinguished the Leninist party of the new type from any social democratic party of the Central International. With this structure of local committees, the party could not become an advanced and organized detachment of the working class. It would not have had a unified will and command, refusal to lead the masses, **adaptation to backwardness ("tailism")** would find expression in the organizational disunity of the Social Democracy, in handicraft, in the fear of centralism.

Against the background of growing opportunistic sentiments, the first congress of Russian social democratic organizations was convened.

The initiators of the congress, far from reaching the level of the Petersburg Union of Struggle, led by Lenin, in terms of programmatic,

theoretical, and organizational issues, are trying, however, to preserve the principled position of the Social Democracy of 1894-1896 when convening the congress. The St. Petersburg "young" and a number of other organizations (Nikolaev, Odessa), which are not quite stable and not sufficiently conspiratorial, from the point of view of the Kiev Social Democrats, are not invited to the congress.

**The congress took place in Minsk, cl (13) on March 3 (15), 1898.** Representatives of four "Unions of Struggle" attended the congress: Petersburg, Moscow, Kiev, Yekaterino-Slav, a group of "Rabochaya Gazeta" and Bund. A total of 9 delegates: S. I. Radchenko - from St. Petersburg, A. A. Vannovsky - from Moscow, K. A. Petrusevich - from Yekaterinoslav, B. L. Eidelman and N. A. Vigdorchik - from Rabochaya Gazeta, P. L. Tuchapsky - from the Kiev "Union of Struggle" and the Kiev Workers' Committee, A. Kremer, A. Mutnik (Gleb) and Sh. Katz - from the Bund.

**Lenin was not at the congress:** at that time, he was in exile in Siberia. Lenin's absence affected the work of the congress and its decisions. The congress was not up to the task set before it. The draft and explanation of the program of the Social Democratic Party, written by Lenin, was not presented at the congress.

The main issue of the congress was the question of the constitution of the party. **The congress decided without debate to merge the local "Unions of Struggle" and the Bund into a single Social Democratic organization.** The question of the name of the party caused great controversy at the congress. The participants were offered for discussion several variants of the name of the party: "Russian Social Democratic Party", "Russian Workers' Party", "Russian Workers' Union". The name "social democratic" did not cause disagreement. Instead of "Russkaya", **a proposal was made to name the party "Russian". This proposal did not meet any objections either.** This decision was of great fundamental importance. The Social Democrats set themselves the task of uniting in their ranks the workers of all nationalities of Russia to fight the common enemy - tsarism and capitalism.

The debate dragged on for some time on whether to include the word "worker" in the name of the party. Some of the delegates acted as committees) ". Even after the congress, the local committees of the party remained the same isolated organizations that were not connected with each other.

The congress did not work out a program, did not actually rally the organizations, its political line was not sufficiently Marxist and clear in defining the historical tasks of the proletariat.

Nevertheless, the First Congress, which issued the "Manifesto" and proclaimed the founding of an all-Russian unified organization, **played a certain role in the history of our party.** It was the first, albeit unsuccessful, attempt to unite and link together the scattered and scattered revolutionary Marxist circles, groups, and organizations in Russia into a single Social Democratic Party and this marked a step forward in rallying around revolutionary Social Democracy that awakened to political life of the proletariat. The very idea of an organized proletarian political party has since become, in Lenin's words, "a guiding star and a desired goal of all class-conscious Social Democrats." "Since the founding of Russian Social-Democracy (1883)," wrote Lenin at the end of 1899, "the Russian workers' movement, with every broad manifestation of it, has come directly close to the Russian Social-Democrats, has sought to merge with them. The founding of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party (in the spring of 1898) marks the largest step towards this merger. At the present time, the main task of all Russian socialists and all class-conscious Russian workers is to consolidate this merger, to strengthen and organize the "Labor Social Democratic Party" ".\*.

The First Congress was a major event in the life of Russian revolutionary Social-Democracy. The news of the congress held and the proclamation of the party made a tremendous impression on all revolutionary-minded Social Democrats. The old Bolshevik P. Lepeshinsky gives interesting information about the joy with which Lenin, who was then in exile in the village of Shushenskoye, was greeted by the news of the first congress. "He was as happy as a child," Lepeshinsky writes. - With the greatest pride he told us, his closest comrades in exile and like-minded people, that from now on

he is a member of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party. We, too, all with great pleasure picked up this new MOTJW (*manifesto?*) for us and as if immediately grew up in our own eyes "

Around the congress and the Manifesto, around the recognition of the all-Russian organization proclaimed by the congress and the Manifesto, a struggle immediately flared up.

The foreign "Union of Russian Social-Democrats", which by this time had passed into the hands of "economists", and "economists" working in Russia opposed the recognition of the congress and its decisions. The Economists tried to distract the working class from the political struggle and turn it into a political appendage of the bourgeoisie, so they reacted sharply to the first congress and its decisions, considering it premature, and the political line of the Manifesto harmful.

The opportunist attacks of the "economists" were repulsed by Lenin, who took the main provisions of the Manifesto under his protection. Despite the fact that the decisions of the congress were largely unsatisfactory, Lenin considered them to be an important weapon in the struggle against the opportunists. Lenin called for rallying and directing all efforts to the formation of a strong party, fighting under the banner of revolutionary Social Democracy, put forward by the First Congress.

"We recognize ourselves as members of this party," wrote Lenin, "we fully share the main ideas of the Manifesto and attach great importance to it as an open statement of its goals."

The fragmentation of the Social Democratic movement, the handicraft that continued to reign even after the first congress and the defeat of the central institutions of the party, ideological confusion and vacillation within the Social Democracy raised the question of creating a truly revolutionary militant organization bound by a single program and tactics and capable of giving a decisive rebuff "Economism", revisionism and other types of distortions of Marxism.



Lenin, who returned from exile, took upon himself this task of the struggle for real unification, for the creation of a revolutionary party of the working class on a new, higher basis.

When at the beginning of 1899 an attempt was made to resume the publication of the smashed Rabochaya Gazeta, recognized by the congress as the Party's Central Organ, and Lenin, who was still in exile, was offered first editing and then cooperation in it, he immediately agreed. The attempt to publish a newspaper did not materialize, but Lenin wrote a number of leading articles for the newspaper No. 3 on the main programmatic issues and the organizational formation of the workers' party. In these articles ("Letter to the editorial group", "Our program", "Our immediate task", "The pressing question"), Lenin insisted on the importance of revolutionary organization and, in opposition to the prevailing handicraft, put forward as the immediate and urgent task of social democracy, the organization of a properly issued party organ closely connected with all local groups, which would have to overcome ideological confusion and handicraft and unite Social Democracy into a truly revolutionary party of a new type.

Lenin succeeded in carrying out this famous "plan for an all-Russian newspaper" **in the newspaper Iskra, which he created.**

In a stubborn and principled struggle against "Economism" Lenin's "Iskra" overcame ideological confusion and handicraft, tied together scattered social democratic circles and groups and prepared the Second Congress, at which the RSDLP was created and Bolshevism arose as a course of Bolshevik thought, as a political party ...

This collection contains works by V. I. Lenin, written on the eve of the 1st Congress of the RSDLP - "Draft and Explanation of the Program of the Social Democratic Party" (1895-1896), "The Tasks of the Russian Social Democrats" (1897), which reflect the ideological and organizational role of Lenin in preparing the creation of the party, as well as articles written by Lenin after the congress (1899) for No. 3 of Rabochaya Gazeta: "Letter to the editorial group", "Our program", "Our immediate task", "An urgent question", devoted to the main issues of the formation of the Social Democratic Party in Russia.

The collection includes all available documents and materials of the congress: "Manifesto of the RSDLP", "Decisions", draft agenda, draft "Manifesto", materials, and notices of the held congress of the RSDLP.

In addition to the official documents and materials of the congress, the collection contains memoirs about the work of the "Unions of the Struggle for the Liberation of the Working Class" that took part in the congress - Petersburg, Moscow, Yekateroslavsky, Kiev, with a description of the state of the labor movement and social democratic organizations of the pre-congress and congress periods, and also - memories of the preparation and work of the 1st Congress of the RSDLP of its participants and organizers.

The "Appendices" to the collection include: the first and second s.-d. programs of the Prulpa "Emancipation of Labor", written by G. V. Plekhanov in 1884 and 1887, G. V. Plekhanov's letter to the "Rabochaya Gazeta", Kiev "Rabochaya Gazeta" Nos. work of the 1st Congress of the RSDLP.

The collection is equipped with a scientific auxiliary apparatus: notes at the end of the text.

The collection was prepared for publication by R. I. Markova; assistant S. Nikolaevskaya; editors - G. D. Obichkin and M. D. Stucheb-pikova.

ВТОРОЙ СЪЕЗД  
РСДРП

ПРОТОКОЛЫ

## Second Congress of the RSDLP. July-August 1903

Protocols. Moscow: Gospolitizdat, 1959

**The minutes of the Second Congress of the RSDLP are one of the main sources for studying the history** of the formation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Giving an accurate and vivid picture of the birth of the revolutionary Marxist party of the working class, a party of a new type that has become the vanguard of the world revolutionary movement, the minutes of the Second Congress of the RSDLP occupy an important place among documentary materials on the history of the international communist and labor movement.

V. I. Lenin wrote about the significance of the minutes of the Second Congress of the RSDLP in the preface to his work "One Step Forward, Two Steps Back": "The minutes of the party congress give a unique picture of **the state of affairs in our party**, a picture of views, moods and plans drawn by the participants in the movement themselves, a picture of existing political shades within the party, showing their comparative strength, their relationship and their struggle. It is the minutes of the party congress and only these minutes that show us how much we have actually succeeded in sweeping away all the remnants of the old, purely circle-affiliated ties and replacing them with a single great party tie. Each member of the party, if he wants to consciously participate in the affairs of his party, is obliged to carefully study our party congress — namely, to study, because one reading of the pile of raw material constituting the minutes does not yet give a picture of the congress". V.I. Lenin. Works, 4th ed., Volume 7, p. 189.

With the entry of capitalism into the era of imperialism, the class struggle sharply intensified, the strength of the proletariat has grown immeasurably, and favorable conditions have developed for a victorious revolution. But to overthrow the exploiting classes and lead the working class to the victory of the socialist revolution only a revolutionary proletarian party, closely connected with the working masses, armed with Marxism, welded together by conscious iron discipline and irreconcilable to opportunism is capable of. By the

**beginning of the 20th century**, there was no such party in any country in the world.

The compromising parties of the **Second International** were **completely unsuitable for leading the revolutionary battles** of the proletariat for power. The question of creating a party of a new type that could lead the struggle for the victory of the socialist revolution has become the most urgent and acute problem of the entire world labor movement. Such a party could only be formed in a country that was close to revolution and became the center of the world revolutionary movement.

Russia became such a country at the beginning of the 20th century, where all types of oppression - capitalist, feudal, military - in their most barbaric form, were woven into one knot. Russia was marching towards a revolution, the hegemon of which was to become the most revolutionary Russian proletariat in the world, **having a mighty ally in the laboring peasantry of its country**. V. I. Lenin in 1902 in his famous work "What is to be done?" pointed out that history has set before the working class of Russia the most revolutionary task of all the immediate tasks of the proletariat of any country. The overthrow of tsarism, the mighty bulwark of international reaction, he wrote, "would make the Russian proletariat the vanguard of the international revolutionary proletariat." The abolition of the autocracy would shake the foundations of the world imperialist system and help develop the revolutionary struggle of the West European working class.

The proletariat of Russia, in order to be fully armed to meet the imminent people's revolution, needed to have a militant, centralized, Marxist party. "... Give us an organization of revolutionaries," wrote V. I. Lenin, "and we will turn Russia over!" Meanwhile, the local social-democratic organizations that existed in most of the large cities of Russia were at that time so **organizationally disunited**, and ideological discord among the social democrats is so great that the task of creating a single centralized party in Russia presented incredible difficulties. It was necessary to overcome the backwardness, sluggishness, narrow practicality of local circles and groups, eliminate handicraft, achieve a common understanding of the

tasks of the labor movement, ways and means of solving these problems. The **main obstacle** to the creation of a unified Marxist party was the "Economists", who were the conduits of bourgeois influence in the working class, a Russian variety of international revisionism. They in every possible way justified and extolled organizational dispersion and ideological confusion, denied the need to introduce socialist consciousness into the labor movement and bowed to its spontaneity. **The creation of a Marxist party** in Russia was impossible without the defeat of the "Economists".

It took almost three years of the truly gigantic work of VI Lenin and the all-Russian illegal newspaper *Iskra*, which he created, to ensure the ideological unity and organizational cohesion of Russian Social-Democracy. Lenin's *Iskra* raised the banner of the struggle for a revolutionary Marxist theory against opportunism, for creative Marxism, for the creation of a militant Marxist party of the Russian proletariat. More than fifty articles by VI Lenin were published on the pages of *Iskra*, in which a profound elaboration of all the most important questions of the revolutionary movement, the ideological and organizational principles of a new type of proletarian party, its program, strategy and tactics is given. *Iskra* ideologically defeated Economism and dealt crushing blows to Bund nationalism. *Iskra*'s greatest merit was the elaboration of a revolutionary draft of the Party program. A solid organization of professional revolutionaries has developed in Russia around *Iskra*. Its agents and correspondents united local party committees around the newspaper and created the nucleus of the party. *Iskra*, led by VI Lenin, prepared all the necessary conditions for the formation of a revolutionary proletarian party.

A huge role in the ideological defeat of "Economism" and in the creation of a revolutionary Marxist party in Russia was played by Lenin's book *What Is to Be Done?* In it, VI Lenin, developing the ideas of Marx and Engels about the proletarian party, developed the foundations of the doctrine of a revolutionary Marxist party — a party of a new type. "What is to be done?" Wrote VI Lenin, "is a summary of *Iskra*'s tactics, *Iskra*'s organizational policies of 1901 and 1902." That is why Lenin's book came under attack from the opportunists at the Second Congress of the RSDLP.

By the spring of 1903, all Social Democratic committees (except for the "economist" Voronezh committee) had joined Iskra. The victory of the Leninist-Iskra trend had to be consolidated at the party congress, the main task of which was "to create a real party on those principles and organizational principles that were put forward and developed by Iskra." This problem was solved in a bitter struggle with the opportunists.

All the threads of the organizational preparation of the Second Congress of the RSDLP were concentrated in the hands of V.I. Lenin: the creation of the Organizing Committee for the convocation of the congress, the definition of the norms of representation, the definition of organizations and groups entitled to participate in the congress, the time and place of its convocation, and many others. The successful activity of the Organizing Committee, culminating in the convocation of the congress, was only possible as a result of the tremendous work done by the editorial board and organization of Iskra, headed by V. I. Lenin, to unite the Russian revolutionary Social Democrats. In his book *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back*, VI Lenin wrote: "... The OC was mainly a commission for convening a congress, a commission deliberately made up of representatives of various shades up to the Bund; the actual work of creating the organizational unity of the Party was entirely borne by the Iskra organization ... "

To the extent that the basic questions of the ideological and organizational preparation of the congress were resolved, V. I. Lenin concentrated his attention directly on the questions of holding the congress itself. Initially, the order of the questions to be discussed at the congress was outlined by V.I. Lenin back in December 1902 in a letter to OK.

A few weeks before the congress, V. I. Lenin carefully thinks over all the details of the congress and, after a series of preliminary sketches, creates an integral program of its work ("**Program of the Second Regular Congress of the RSDLP**"), including both the congress regulations and the methods of its constitution. and the order of the day, and the outline of decisions on a number of issues facing the congress. **This document is of great historical importance** - it formed the basis for the work of the Second Congress of the RSDLP. At the

same time, V. I. Lenin wrote draft resolutions on many issues that were subject to discussion at the congress - on the place of the Bund in the party, on the economic struggle, on May 1, on the international congress, on demonstrations, on terror, on propaganda, on the distribution of forces, about party literature, about the attitude towards teaching young people. Preparing for the congress and knowing that an acute struggle against opportunist and centrist elements lay ahead, Lenin on the eve of the congress drew up a table "Composition of the Second Congress of the RSDLP", in which, apparently, for his own orientation, he made a preliminary account of the composition of the congress and the balance of forces in German. The Second Congress of the RSDLP opened on July 17 (30), 1903. The congress first worked in Brussels until July 24 (August 6), and then, at the request of the Belgian police, left the capital of Belgium and moved to London, where the meetings of the congress resumed on July 29 (August 11) and continued until August 10 (23). A total of 37 sessions of the congress took place - 13 in Brussels and 24 in London.

**26 Social Democratic organizations** were represented at the congress. The composition of the congress vividly testified to how much the Social Democratic movement had grown and strengthened in Russia, which by that time numbered several tens of thousands of workers and ideologically influenced hundreds of thousands of workers who were not part of the organization. Representatives from social democratic organizations of all large cities and regions of Russia - St. Petersburg and Transcaucasia, Moscow and Ukraine, Crimea and Siberia, the Volga region and the Urals, cities of the industrial center took part in the works of the II Congress. Most of the delegates were Iskra supporters. However, **the congress was also attended by opponents of Iskra**, as well as wavering, centrist elements. The 43 delegates present at the congress had 51 votes, of which the Iskraits held 33 votes. But not all Iskraits were firm Iskra-Leninists, consistent proletarian revolutionaries. The solid Iskraits had 24 votes, and 9 votes belonged to the unstable, "soft" Iskraits who followed Martov. Open opponents of Iskra had 8 votes (3 Economists and 5 Bundists). The remaining 10 votes belonged to the centrist elements, the so-called "swamp", who oscillated between Iskra and its opponents. It was enough for the Iskraits to split up, and Iskra's enemies could



gain the upper hand. Such a composition of delegates predetermined the fierce nature of the struggle when discussing the main issues on the agenda of the congress.

**The congress was supposed to adopt the party's program and charter,** create leading party centers, and resolve a number of tactical and organizational issues aimed at strengthening the party being created.

As can be seen from the minutes, the real leader of the congress, who exerted a lot of effort and energy to ensure the victory of the Iskra trend, was V.I. Lenin. He was elected to the bureau of the congress and repeatedly chaired the meetings, was a member of the program, organizational and mandate commissions of the congress. Lenin spoke out on almost all issues of the order of the day, smashing the opportunists and rallying around himself the revolutionary section of the congress.

**From the very first day of the work of the congress, a fierce struggle began** between the revolutionary and opportunist wings of the congress. The first three sessions were filled with heated debates on the question of the rules of procedure, the order of the day and the report of the credentials committee: The attacks of the opportunists were repulsed. The congress approved the rules and order of the day proposed by the Organizing Committee, in accordance with the "Program of the Second Regular Congress of the RSDLP" developed by VI Lenin.

Then the congress considered **the question of the Bund's place** in the party and unanimously **rejected the nationalist proposals** of the Bundists to build a party on a federal principle, legitimizing alienation in the internal life of the party and contradicting the principle of centralism. Lenin's idea of creating a party on the principles of centralism and proletarian internationalism won out.

A sharp struggle ensued during the discussion of the party program. The draft program worked out by the editorial staff of Iskra and Zarya was taken as a basis. The discussion of the program took 9 sessions of the congress. The struggle flared up on the most important points of the program that determined its combat, revolutionary orientation.

The opportunists, represented by the "economists" Akimov and Martynov, the Bundist Lieber, strove to change the very spirit of the program, to emasculate its revolutionary essence.

The opportunists launched an attack **against the inclusion** in the program of the most important thesis of Marxism - **the dictatorship of the proletariat**. At the same time, they referred to the fact that in the programs of the West European Social Democratic parties there is no clause on the dictatorship of the proletariat.

At the congress, **Trotsky's double-dealing position on the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat**, which essentially stood on the point of view of social reformism, was manifested. Not daring to openly oppose the inclusion in the program of the clause on the dictatorship of the proletariat, he declared that the implementation of this clause is possible only when the proletariat becomes "the majority of the nation" and when the party and the working class are "closest to identification", that is, merge ... This attitude was one of the dogmas of the West European opportunists and later **served as the basis for the Trotskyist-Menshevik "theory"** about the impossibility of the victory of socialism in our country.

Lenin defended the thesis of the dictatorship of the proletariat against all attacks of the opportunists with all decisiveness and inflexibility. The inclusion by the congress in the party program of the clause on the dictatorship of the proletariat marked the historic victory of V.I. Lenin and his supporters, the victory of revolutionary Marxism, and dealt a serious blow to international opportunism.

**Martynov and Akimov opposed** the Marxist position on introducing socialist consciousness into the labor movement **from the outside**, thereby denying the position enshrined in the program on the leading role of the Marxist party in the labor movement, and tried to push through a number of amendments in the spirit of V. I. Lenin sharply opposed this opportunist foray of the "economists". The congress rejected all of their amendments.

**The agrarian part of the program**, written by V. I. Lenin, was subjected to the greatest attacks from the "economists", Bundists and a number of wavering elements ("swamps"). This program proceeded

from the tasks of eliminating the remnants of serfdom and creating conditions for the free development of the class struggle in the countryside. It was aimed **at strengthening and developing the revolutionary alliance of workers and peasants** in their struggle against tsarism, landlords and capitalists.

The opportunists denied the revolutionary role of the peasantry. Naturally, those who opposed the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat removed from the agenda the question of allies, of the reserves of the proletariat. With statements about the non-revolutionary nature of the peasantry, the opportunists covered up their unwillingness and even fear of revolution; in essence, they denied the leading role of the proletariat in the revolution, rejected the alliance of the working class and the peasantry. They first proposed to completely reject the agrarian part of the program, and then they tried to push through a proposal so that the congress would define only general principles of principle on the agrarian question, refusing to formulate specific proposals.

V. I. Lenin strongly opposed this. In his speeches and speeches, he defended the agrarian part of the program and showed the importance of the peasantry as an ally of the proletariat, substantiated the revolutionary significance of the demand for the return of the "cut-offs" and the need to differentiate the requirements of the agrarian program of Social Democracy at the two stages of the revolution. Lenin stressed that this agrarian program is not the limit for the Marxist party. He suggested in the motivation part of the program instead of the words "we will strive" to say: "we demand first of all". Such an amendment meant that the party would not stop at the immediate demands of the program, such as the return of the "cut-off areas," etc., that it would put forward in the future a demand for the confiscation of the landlords' land and the nationalization of all the land, which Lenin wrote about even before the Congress ...

The agrarian part of the program was also approved by the congress.

Serious controversy flared up over the **national question**. The theoretical foundations and practical requirements of the Marxist national program were developed and substantiated by VI Lenin in

his work *The National Question in Our Program* and in other articles in *Iskra*. The program demanded full equality of rights for all citizens regardless of gender, religion, race, or nationality; it demanded the recognition of the right to self-determination for all the nations that make up the state. The programmatic demands on the national question and, above all, the demand for the right of nations to self-determination were aimed at attracting the oppressed nationalities of Russia in the coming revolution as an ally to the side of the proletariat as the only consistent fighter against national oppression, and to promote the education of the working class in the spirit of proletarian internationalism.

The Polish Social Democrats and Bundists spoke out against the point of the program on the right of nations to self-determination at the congress. The Polish Social Democrats, mistakenly believing that this paragraph would play into the hands of the Polish nationalists, proposed to remove it. Unsupported in the program commission, at whose meetings the main discussion on this issue took place and where almost all the delegates were present, the Polish Social Democrats did not dare to defend their proposals at the congress itself and left it (there is only one document - notes by V.I. Lenin). The **Bundists tried to replace the Marxist formula on the character of nations with self-determination**, by which the congress understood the right of nations to political secession, with a bourgeois-nationalist formula on cultural-national autonomy. The nationalism of the Bund was exposed. The Leninist principles of proletarian internationalism, formulated in the program of the RSDLP, triumphed at the congress.

In a bitter debate over all program questions, the opportunists were defeated. All their attacks were repulsed by V.I. Lenin and the *Iskra*ists. The congress adopted *Iskra*'s program, consisting of two parts, where both the ultimate goals of Social-Democracy (maximum program) and its immediate tasks (minimum program) were clearly defined.

**The maximum program** spoke of revolutionary transformations of a socialist character. Here such fundamental tasks of the revolutionary proletarian movement were formulated as the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in

the process of the victorious socialist revolution and the building of a socialist society. The program provided a short but deeply scientific exposition of these fundamental questions of Marxist theory.

**The minimum program** dealt with the immediate tasks of the party - the overthrow of tsarism and the reforms of a bourgeois-democratic character. The program viewed **the struggle for democratic transformation** as a necessary stage on Russia's path to the socialist revolution.

The program of the RSDLP adopted by the Second Congress of the Party was an example of a truly Marxist revolutionary program. It fundamentally differed from the programs of the West European Social Democratic parties in its loyalty to the principles of revolutionary Marxist theory, irreconcilability to opportunism, a militant, revolutionary, and creative character. For the first time in the history of the international workers' movement after the death of Marx and Engels, a revolutionary program was adopted, in which the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat was put forward as the main task. Guided by this program, the party successfully fought for the victory of the bourgeois democratic and socialist revolutions in Russia.

The party program, adopted at the Second Congress of the RSDLP, laid the scientific foundation for the strategy and tactics of the revolutionary party of the proletariat. In development of the general tactical provisions formulated in the program, the congress at its last, thirty-seventh, meeting adopted a number of resolutions that were supposed to determine the tactics of the party in a number of issues of its work for the near future (on the attitude towards liberals, on socialist revolutionaries, on demonstrations, about professional struggle, about anti-Jewish pogroms, about factory leaders, about the attitude towards students, about work among sectarians).

The consistently Marxist decision of the Second Congress of the RSDLP on program issues was the clearest evidence of the ideological victory of the Leninist-Iskra trend in the Russian labor movement. The recognition of the Iskra trend as the ideological trend of the entire Party was also expressed in the decision of the congress to declare

Iskra the Central Organ of the Party. In this decision, the congress noted the merits of Iskra in building the party, in the struggle against opportunism, in the defense and development of Marxism.

By adopting the program, the Second Congress of the RSDLP created a solid foundation for the ideological unity of the Marxist party. This ideological unity had to be crowned with the unity of the organization, to create firm norms and rules of internal party life. During the discussion of the draft Party Rules, written by V. I. Lenin, especially the first paragraph - on Party membership - the struggle at the congress became even more acute. The most important organizational idea put forward and developed by Iskra was the idea of centralism, the idea of creating a single centralized party with iron discipline. This idea was taken as the basis of the party charter.

The disagreements on the first paragraph of the charter - about party membership - formally boiled down to the question of whether a party member should personally participate in one of the party organizations, or he may not be a member of the party organization, while Lenin considered it compulsory for every party member to in one of its organizations, his work in it, Martov argued that a party member may not be a member of a party organization, not work in it and, therefore, not obey party discipline. In fact, these were disagreements on one of the fundamental issues of Marxism - the doctrine of the party. Two different formulations of the paragraph of the charter on party membership reflected completely opposite views on the party, its composition, its structure, and its tasks.

Lenin and his associates defended the Marxist thesis about the party as an advanced, conscious, organized detachment of the working class, armed with a revolutionary theory, knowledge of the laws of social development and class struggle, and the experience of the revolutionary movement. The revolutionary part of the congress, considering the party as an advanced, monolithic detachment of the working class, defended firm proletarian discipline, obligatory for all party members, both rank and file and leading leaders.

V. I. Lenin demanded that the party members should be instilled with a high sense of party spirit, pointed out that every party member is

responsible for the party and the party is responsible for each of its members. He called for vigilantly guarding the firmness of the line and the purity of the principles of the Party, and raising high the rank and importance of a Party member. "Our task," he said at the congress, "is to preserve the firmness, self-control and purity of our party. We must try to raise the rank and importance of the Party member higher, higher and higher - and therefore I am against Martov's formulation". Only a highly conscientious, united, and centralized, strictly disciplined, genuinely revolutionary, militant party, irreconcilable to the opportunists, is capable of leading the working class to victory and successfully leading its struggle for the conquest of power.

The merit of V.I. Lenin is invaluable, who for the first time in the history of Marxism developed the doctrine of the party as the leading organization of the proletariat, the main weapon in its hands, without which it is impossible to conquer the dictatorship of the proletariat, to build socialism and communism.

The high demands that V. I. Lenin made of the party and its members **were met with hostility by the opportunist section** of the congress. This is understandable: the opportunists did not want the working class of Russia to have a revolutionary party capable of rousing it to fight against tsarism. An organizationally vague, motley party suited them. Martov's formulation provided room for all sorts of random elements to penetrate the ranks of the party, doomed the party to confusion and vacillation, gave scope to opportunism, and contributed to the subordination of the labor movement to bourgeois influence. This was the meaning of the struggle at the Second Party Congress on the first paragraph of the Rules.

**During the voting** on the first paragraph of the charter, an open split occurred among the Iskraits. A minority broke away from the Iskraits — the unstable Iskraits **headed by Martov**. By uniting with the "swamp" and the anti-Iskraits, Martov's supporters gained an advantage over the firm Iskraits. By a majority of 28 votes against 22, with one abstention, **the congress adopted the first paragraph of the charter as formulated by Martov.**

The temporary victory of the opportunists on this question did not shake the firm Iskraits. A sharp struggle unfolded over the role of party centers. In their desire to belittle the leading role of the Central Committee, the opportunists proposed to limit the Central Committee's right to dissolve local committees, to consider as binding for party organizations only those resolutions of the Central Committee that have a general party character. The congress rejected these proposals. **Lenin and the firm Iskraits upheld the principle of centralism in building the party** as opposed to the opportunist principle of autonomy and federalism. With the exception of the first paragraph, the charter, developed by V.I. Lenin, was basically adopted. Already at the next, III congress of the RSDLP, the party corrected the mistake made at the II congress by approving the first paragraph of the party rules as edited by V.I. Lenin.

In discussing the seventh item on the agenda — on regional and national organizations — the congress had to again deal with the Bund, which claimed a special position in the party. **The Bund demanded to be recognized as the only representative of the Jewish workers in Russia.** To accept this demand from the Bund meant to divide the workers in party organizations along ethnic lines, to abandon the united class territorial organizations of the working class. It was nationalism in organizational matters. The Bund's proposal was rejected by the Congress. Then the Bundists left the congress. Two "economists", delegates from the "Union of Russian Social Democrats Abroad," also left the congress in protest when the congress refused to recognize their "Union" as the party's representative abroad.

The consistent and irreconcilable struggle of V.I. Lenin and his associates for the programmatic and organizational principles of Iskra deprived the opportunists of any hope of the possibility of turning the congress off the right path, and they had no choice but to leave it. The departure from the Congress of the seven anti-Iskraits changed the balance of forces in favor of the firm Iskraits.

The congress moved on to the election of the party's central institutions. Lenin attached great importance to this question. To consolidate the victory of the Iskra principles in programmatic,



tactical, and organizational questions, Lenin considered it necessary to bring firm and consistent revolutionaries to the central institutions of the party. The Martovites strove for the predominance of unstable, opportunist elements.

In the elections to the central party bodies, VI Lenin's supporters won a decisive victory, having received the majority of votes, and the opportunists were defeated and found themselves in the minority. The Iskra editorial staff was elected consisting of Lenin, Martov and Plekhanov. But Martov refused to work in the editorial office. Krzhizhanovsky, Lengnik, Noskov were elected to the Party Central Committee. This is where the names came from: "Bolsheviks" - Lenin's supporters, who received the majority of votes, and "Mensheviks" - Lenin's opponents, who received a minority of votes.

Lenin's struggle against opportunist elements at the congress on programmatic and organizational questions **laid a dividing line between the revolutionary part of the RSDLP — the Bolsheviks and the opportunist — the Mensheviks.**

At the congress, the truly titanic struggle of V.I. Lenin for the creation of a revolutionary proletarian party in Russia was crowned with success. Around V. I. Lenin, professional revolutionaries brought up by Iskra and hardened in the struggle united, who unwaveringly defended the cause of creating a Marxist party - N. E. Bauman, B. M. Knunyants, P. A. Krasikov, S. I. Gusev, R.S. Zemlyachka, D.I. Ulyanov, A.M. Knipovich, A.M. Stopani and others. GV **Plekhanov** held Iskra's positions throughout the Congress, **supported VI Lenin** on a whole range of issues.

**The main result of the Second Congress of the RSDLP** is the creation in Russia **of a revolutionary Marxist party**, the Bolshevik party, on the basis of those programmatic and organizational principles that were put forward and developed by Lenin's Iskra. "Bolshevism," Lenin pointed out, "has existed as a current of political thought and as a political party since 1903." It marked a turning point in the world labor movement. A new type of Marxist party has appeared on the historical arena, which has taken consistent revolutionary positions in the ranks of the international proletariat.

Outstanding importance in the history of the world workers' movement is the correct formulation and correct decision at the Second Congress of the RSDLP of a whole series of most important questions of revolutionary theory. In the program, statutes and decisions adopted by the congress, as well as in speeches at the congress of V.I. Lenin, the main and most urgent questions of the struggle of the proletariat received Marxist coverage: the socialist revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the hegemony of the proletariat, the doctrine of a revolutionary proletarian party of a new type, about the attitude towards the peasantry, the national question, and others. All these questions were the most pressing questions of not only the Russian, but also the world revolutionary proletarian movement.

The struggle of V.I. Lenin and his supporters at the Second Congress of the RSDLP for ideological and organizational unity, for the purity and discipline of the party ranks showed a remarkable example of irreconcilability to opportunism, unprecedented in the history of the world workers' movement of that time. The Bolsheviks showed the progressive proletarians of all countries the only correct way to revive the revolutionary traditions of the world labor movement, laid down by the founders of Marxism and consigned to oblivion by the leaders of the Second International.

The minutes of the Second Congress were **first illegally published by the Central Committee of the RSDLP in 1904 in Geneva**. The commission for the publication of the minutes, elected at the penultimate meeting of the congress, made the necessary abbreviations of the text for conspiratorial reasons, dropped a number of passages relating mainly to procedural issues, to re-ballot, and some others.

In 1924, the protocols were reissued by the Istpart of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), and in 1932 by the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute under the Central Committee of the CPSU (b).

This edition of the minutes of the Second Congress of the RSDLP is based on the text of the first, Geneva, edition, verified with the handwritten materials from the archive of the protocol commission

elected at the Second Congress stored at the Institute of Marxism-Leninism. These materials represent a handwritten text of the minutes in three versions: 1) the secretary's note containing numerous handwritten notes of speeches approved by the congress (with the exception of the recording of the last two meetings - 36 and 37, which remained unapproved due to lack of time), 2) the text of the protocol commission, compiled on the basis of the secretary's note, and 3) handwritten text of the protocol commission, intended for the set.

Those passages of the secretarial record that were not included in the first edition of the minutes for conspiratorial reasons or for the sake of shortening, in this edition are given in footnotes. An exception was made only for the initial secretarial notes on the 12th, 13th, and the final part of the 36th session of the congress, which is placed in the section "Materials of the congress". The recording of these meetings is an unprocessed initial recording of the secretaries, basically in two versions, and was not approved by the congress. The section "Materials of the Congress" also contains the answers of the Bund speaker to the questions asked. This material is being published following the report on the activities of the Bund, with which it is organically linked. Discrepancies in the first edition of the protocols with three versions of handwritten texts of the protocols, which have semantic meaning, are everywhere specified in the footnotes.

The archive of the protocol commission contains a large number of various kinds of materials related directly to the progress of the congress. These are numerous notes submitted to the bureau of the congress with recommended candidates and proposed resolutions, statements, written reports, and others. Part of this material is published in this edition of the minutes in the section "Materials of the Congress" (reports of the committees to the Congress) and in the form of an appendix at the end of the book (applications submitted to the Bureau of the Congress). Another part, representing the resolutions proposed by the delegates of the congress, which were not published for any reason by the protocol commission, is placed in the form of footnotes under the text of the minutes.

For the sake of conspiracy, the protocol commission, when preparing the Geneva edition of the protocols, replaced the party nicknames

under which they spoke at the congress for the majority of delegates with other pseudonyms. The decoding of the pseudonyms in this publication is given at the first speech of the delegate at each meeting of the congress; the decrypted surnames are enclosed in square brackets. In footnotes, where the text of the secretary's note is given, delegates are designated by party names that do not appear in the text of the minutes. Their decoding is given at the first mention in each footnote; The brackets enclose the delegate alias as published in the text of the Geneva edition.

In the Geneva edition of the minutes, it is extremely rare to find indications of who was the chairman of a particular session of the congress. There is no complete information about this in the secretary's record. Although G.V. Plekhanov was elected chairman of the congress, and **V.I. Lenin was elected vice-chairman, nevertheless Lenin often chaired the sessions of the congress.** Due to the fact that chairpersons are sometimes changed several times during the same meeting, this publication, and square brackets, where there is an indication in the secretary record, indicates who was the chair at that time. For conspiratorial reasons, the dates of the meetings are not in the Geneva edition. In the present edition, they are given by the editors (in double style). Obvious typos in the text of the protocols were corrected without reservations.

To unify the order of the arrangement of materials in the published minutes of party congresses and conferences, the editorial board, as in the previous edition, made some regrouping of materials in comparison with their arrangement in the Geneva edition of the minutes: the preface ("From the Commission"), published at the end of the Geneva edition of the minutes, was placed at the beginning; documents of the congress: "Program of the RSDLP", "Organizational Charter of the RSDLP", "Order of the day of the congress", "Regulations of the congress", "Bureau and commissions of the congress", "Major resolutions adopted at the II congress of the RSDLP" - combined in one section "Resolutions and regulations" and placed not before the text of the minutes, as is the case in the Geneva edition, but after the text. The section also includes the decisions adopted by the Congress that were not included in the Geneva edition of the

minutes in the list of "Major Resolutions". The list of members of the Congress, which appears in the Geneva edition at the end of the minutes, is included in this edition in the section "Materials of the Congress".

"Appendices" from I to XI inclusive are reprinted from the Geneva edition of the minutes without any change, in the same sequence. The Appendices to this Edition contain documents closely related to the Congress, but absent from the Geneva edition of the minutes. The numbering of these documents begins with the number XII.

Compared to the previous edition, the present edition of the minutes of the congress has been significantly supplemented with new documents.

The section "Materials of the Congress" includes the following documents of V. I. Lenin: "Program of the Second Regular Congress of the RSDLP"; draft resolutions prepared but not submitted to the Congress - "Bund", "Economic Struggle", "May 1", "International Congress", "Demonstrations", "Terror", "Propaganda", "Distribution of Forces", "Literature", "According to the statement of Martynov and Akimov", "Addendum to Martov's resolution on the withdrawal of the Bund from the RSDLP", "The withdrawal of the Bund", "Separate groups", "Troops", "Peasantry"; "Composition of the II Congress of the RSDLP"; "Notes on the work of the program commission"; "Notes on the debate on the proposal of the Bund delegates on the procedure for discussing the party charter"; "Notes on the debate on § 1 of the charter"; "Diary of the II Congress of the RSDLP"; "On the question of reports of committees and groups of the RSDLP to the general party congress."

The section "Materials of the Congress" includes the reports of the committees of the Second Congress of the RSDLP, which are preceded by the work of VI Lenin "On the question of the reports of committees and groups of the RSDLP to the general party congress." Reports are printed in the order they were presented at the congress. The congress devoted three of its sessions to hearing reports from the field — 11, 12 and 13. The protocol commission elected at the congress intended to publish the reports of the committees separately from the minutes of

the congress, as indicated in the text of the minutes and in the preface "From the Commission." However, for unknown reasons, the reports were not published at that time.

The "Appendices" section includes: "Draft program of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party (developed by the editors of Iskra and Zarya)"; "Afterword to the" Notice of the formation of the "Organizing Committee", written by V. I. Lenin; "Resolution of the arbitration court on the invitation to the congress of the" Petersburg workers' organization "and the organization calling itself the Petersburg Committee of the RSDLP."

The following documents have been published for the first time: "Answers of the Bund rapporteur to the questions asked" and "Report of the Baku Committee".

The publication is provided with informational notes, as well as indexes of names, organizations of the RSDLP, periodicals and literary works and sources mentioned in the text of the protocols.

The edition was prepared for publication by G. N. Shanshiev. Assistants to the preparatory - T. G. Breneisen and T. S. Chanysheva Editors - M. D. Stuchebnikova and N. V. Tropkin.

Institute of Marxism-Leninism under the Central Committee of the CPSU

#### FROM THE COMMISSION

Issuing the minutes of the Second Congress of the RSDLP, the commission elected by the Congress considers it necessary to preface its work with the following explanatory remarks.

**No transcripts were taken at the congress**, but the speeches and the entire course of the debates **were recorded** by the successive secretaries, to whom the orators presented the abstracts of their more significant speeches. Thus, the minutes drawn up were read at the congress and approved by the congress. Only the minutes of the last two meetings (36 and 37) remained unapproved due to lack of time.

So, the commission received the material already approved by the congress. It was necessary to bring it into an easy-to-print form and

edit it. The initial work on putting the material in order was carried out by Comrade Koltsov, and then the commission, in its entirety, considered and approved the text to be published.

The commission did not use the right granted to it not to publish certain parts of the minutes: more precisely, it used it in a very insignificant amount and only insofar as it was absolutely required by conspiratorial considerations.

The commission was guided by the same considerations when replacing some of the conspiratorial nicknames under which the delegates appeared at the congress with others. In all other respects, she strictly adhered to the text adopted by the congress, and made only stylistic corrections in it.

The publication of the commission did not include the reports of the delegates to the congress. These reports are not directly related to the activities of the congress, there was no debate about them, and therefore they can conveniently come out in a separate edition. Of all the reports, the Bund report alone provoked some debate at the Congress. But, unfortunately, the commission had to refuse to reproduce this debate because the minutes did not preserve the speech of the Bund delegate in response to the questions put to him.

Finally, the commission attached to the minutes several (11) documents: these documents - in one way or another - supplement and explain the work of the congress and the decisions taken by it.

Gorin, Koltsov, Starover.

# ТРЕТИЙ СЪЕЗД РСДРП

ПРОТОКОЛЫ



### **Third Congress of the RSDLP. April-May 1905.**

The third congress of the RSDLP took place on April 12-27 (April 25-May 10), 1905 in London. The work of the congress took place in an atmosphere of the growth of the bourgeois-democratic, people's revolution in Russia. The congress was attended by 24 delegates with decisive votes and 14 with advisory votes. All organizations of the RSDLP were invited to the congress, but the Mensheviks refused to participate in the congress and gathered separately in Geneva, where they held their conference, therefore this congress was purely Bolshevik.

The first sessions of the congress were devoted to discussing the report of the Organizing Committee and the mandate verification commission. In the speeches of the delegates and in the adopted resolution "On the construction of the congress" the indisputable legality of the congress was stated, and opposition to the convocation of the congress of the members of the Party Council Plekhanov, Martov and Axelrod, contrary to the party charter, was condemned. The congress made these members of the former Soviet responsible for the split in the party.

Due to the fact that the congress was held during the Russian revolution of 1905-1907, it considered the fundamental questions of the party's tactics in the revolution: about an armed uprising, about a provisional revolutionary government, about the attitude to government policy on the eve of the coup, about an open political speech by the RSDLP, about the attitude towards the peasant movement, about the breakaway part of the party and others. The congress determined the strategic plan of the party in the bourgeois-democratic revolution: the proletariat, as the leader of the revolution in alliance with the entire peasantry, with the isolation of the liberal bourgeoisie, is fighting for the victory of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. The resolution of the congress "On an armed uprising" was based on the ideas of V.I. Lenin on the hegemony of the proletariat in the bourgeois-democratic revolution and the development of the bourgeois-democratic revolution into a socialist one.

In the resolution "On the attitude towards the peasant movement", the congress emphasized the need to provide the most energetic support for all revolutionary measures of the peasantry, up to the confiscation of the landlord's lands, and suggested that the party organizations get closer to the peasant masses, fight for the liberation of the peasantry from the influence of the liberal bourgeoisie, them in the fight against the autocracy.

Proceeding from the strategic plan in the revolution, the party put forward the main slogans before the masses: a democratic republic, confiscation of the landlord's land, an 8-hour working day. The only means of overthrowing tsarism and creating a democratic republic, the Third Congress of the RSDLP, recognized a nationwide armed uprising. The congress instructed all party organizations "to take the most energetic measures to arm the proletariat, as well as to develop a plan for an armed uprising and direct its leadership, creating for this, as necessary, special groups of party workers."

As a result of the victory of the armed popular uprising, a provisional revolutionary government of the victorious classes - **workers and peasants - should be created**. In the resolution "On a provisional revolutionary government", the congress defined its class character as a political organ of the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry and its tasks: consolidating the gains of the revolution, suppressing the resistance of the exploiting classes, fulfilling the immediate political and economic demands of the proletariat - the minimum program of the RSDLP, creating favorable conditions for the transition to the socialist revolution. For the successful fulfillment of these tasks by the provisional revolutionary government, the congress pointed out the admissibility of the participation of representatives of the Social Democratic Party in it.

The congress put forward tactical slogans - the Party's appeals aimed at unleashing the revolutionary initiative of the masses, at organizing the masses for an uprising against the autocracy. These slogans were: a) the use of mass political strikes; b) organizing the immediate implementation in a revolutionary way of the 8-hour working day and other requirements of the working class; c) the immediate organization of revolutionary peasant committees as organs of the

struggle of the peasantry against police-bureaucratic and landlord oppression, organs for carrying out democratic reforms in a revolutionary way up to the confiscation of landowners' lands; d) arming the workers.

The congress took the most important decisions on organizational issues. In the resolution "On Attitude Towards National Social Democratic Organizations", the Congress instructed the Central Committee and local committees to make every effort to reach an agreement with national Social Democratic organizations to coordinate local work and prepare the possibility of uniting all Social Democratic parties into a single RSDLP.

The task of rallying all Social Democrats into a single party has acquired particular importance in connection with the unfolding revolution. In the resolution On the Breakaway Part of the Party, the congress condemned the opportunist views of the Mensheviks not only on organizational but also on tactical questions and invited all party members to wage a vigorous ideological struggle everywhere against deviations from the principles of revolutionary Social-Democracy. The congress adopted a special resolution on the dissolution of the committees that would refuse to recognize the decisions of the Third Congress, indicating that it should be resorted to "only after a thorough investigation has fully established the unwillingness of the Menshevik organizations and committees to submit to party discipline." In a special resolution, the congress instructed the Central Committee to take all measures to prepare and work out the conditions for merging with the breakaway part of the RSDLP.

In the resolution "On Propaganda and Agitation," the congress pointed out the exceptional importance of attracting workers directly associated with the revolutionary movement as members of party committees, agitators, and propagandists.

The congress adopted a new party charter with the Leninist wording of the first paragraph on party membership. The charter clearly defined the rights of the Central Committee and the autonomy of local committees, eliminated the system of two-center in the party. The

congress elected a single governing center - the Central Committee, headed by V.I. Lenin.

In the resolution on the newspaper Vperyod, the congress noted its outstanding role in convening the congress and expressed gratitude to the newspaper's editorial board. The congress approved the new Central Organ of the Party - the newspaper Proletary. At the plenum of the Central Committee on April 27 (May 10), 1905, V.I. Lenin.

All the work of the congress was held under the leadership of V.I. Lenin. He made reports on the participation of Social-Democrats. in the provisional revolutionary government, on a resolution to support the peasant movement, and spoke in debates on the legality of the congress, on an armed uprising, on the attitude to government tactics on the eve of the coup, on the relations between workers and intellectuals in the Social-Democrats. organizations, when discussing the party charter, on the issue of practical agreements with the socialist revolutionaries, on the report on the activities of the Central Committee. All the main resolutions adopted by the congress were written by V.I. Lenin: a resolution on an armed uprising, on a provisional revolutionary government, on an open political speech by the RSDLP, on the attitude towards the peasant movement. IN AND. Lenin also wrote resolutions "Concerning the events in the Caucasus", "Resolution on the publication of the minutes of the congress."

Lenin was the chairman of all sessions of the congress: he kept detailed notes during the sessions, made numerous notes on notes submitted by delegates to the Bureau of the Congress, kept notes of speakers, noted the state of the minutes prepared by the secretaries for approval by the congress.

The beginning of 1905 brought the first great wave of the strike movement. In response to the bloody atrocities of the tsarist government in St. Petersburg on January 9, 1905, general strikes began in Moscow, Riga, Warsaw, Tiflis, and other industrial centers of the country. In January 1905, 440,000 workers went on strike, that is, more than in the entire previous decade. Political demonstrations took place in a number of cities.

The proletarian struggle sparked a revolutionary movement among the peasantry. "Only the waves of mass strikes that swept across the country, in connection with the cruel lessons of the imperialist Russian-Japanese war, awakened the broad masses of the peasantry from their lethargic sleep." In February 1905, agrarian unrest began in the Orel, Voronezh, Kursk provinces. The movement was especially strong in the Volga region, the Baltic region, Transcaucasia, Poland. In the spring of 1905, agricultural workers' strikes organized by the Social Democrats took place in a number of places.

"Russia is experiencing a great historical moment," wrote V. I. Lenin. - The revolution broke out and flared up more and more, covering new areas and new strata of the population. The proletariat is at the head of the fighting forces of the revolution. He has already made the greatest sacrifices to the cause of freedom and is now preparing for a decisive battle with the tsarist autocracy".

The unfolding popular revolution in Russia demanded from the proletarian party correct and firm political leadership of the revolutionary struggle of the masses. The party, Lenin pointed out, was faced with the greatest, grandiose tasks of organizing an uprising, concentrating the revolutionary forces of the proletariat, rallying them with the forces of the entire revolutionary people, armed attack, and establishing a provisional revolutionary government.

The new questions of organization and tactics, raised by the gigantic upsurge of the revolutionary movement, were to become the focus of the Third Party Congress.

The urgent need to convene a congress was also dictated by the situation within the party, which was actually split into Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, who assessed differently the character, driving forces and tasks of the proletariat in the revolution.

After the Second Party Congress, a struggle broke out between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks over the fundamental questions of the party's organization and tactics. The Bolsheviks, headed by V.I. Lenin, resolutely stood for the implementation of the revolutionary Marxist program and charter adopted at the Second Party Congress, against the schismatic, disorganizing activity of the Mensheviks, who were

dragging the Party towards fragmentation and circle-like behavior. The Mensheviks took the path of anti-party methods. They created a secret factional organization headed by Martov, Trotsky, Axelrod and set themselves the goal of seizing the leadership of the party by boycotting the party centers and disorganizing party work. Plekhanov's desertion to the side of the Mensheviks, their seizure of the Iskra editorial board and the majority in the Party Council, the pursuit of a policy of splitting the local Party organizations — all this put the Party in conditions of a grave crisis. Lenin pointed out that the basis of this crisis "was the stubborn unwillingness of the minority of the Second Congress to submit to its majority." The Mensheviks' splitting policy was supported by the leaders of the Second International.

As the only reliable means of curbing the disorganizing Mensheviks, preserving, and multiplying the party's forces, and equipping the party for the upcoming revolutionary battles, V.I. Lenin back in December 1903 put forward the demand for the immediate convocation of a party congress. Local party organizations actively supported the initiative of V.I. Lenin. The struggle to convene the congress became the central task of all Bolsheviks.

"The newspaper *Vperyod*, founded on the initiative of V. I. Lenin, was of great importance in rallying the party and preparing the congress. The newspaper was published weekly from December 22, 1904 (January 4, 1905). On the pages of the newspaper *Vperyod*, V. I. Lenin worked out the strategic and tactical line of the Bolsheviks on the main issues of the revolution: the nature and characteristics of the revolution, the armed uprising, the provisional revolutionary government and the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry, the attitude of social democracy to the peasant movement, towards the liberal bourgeoisie, towards the Russian-Japanese war. Over 40 articles and notes by V. I. Lenin were published in the newspaper *Vperyod*. The propositions on the strategy and tactics of the party in the bourgeois-democratic revolution, formulated and substantiated by V. I. Lenin in these articles, formed the basis for the decisions of the Third Congress. The Bolshevik newspaper *Vperyod* exposed and smashed the

opportunism of the Mensheviks in organizational and tactical questions, ideologically inspired and organized the party masses around the Leninist slogan of the struggle for the congress.

The Mensheviks strongly opposed the convocation of the congress. The Party Council, which included Plekhanov, Martov, Axelrod, acted, according to Lenin's definition, as an instrument of secret organization of the Mensheviks, directing its efforts to disrupt the congress. The party council opposed the majority of the party. Using its statutory right to convene the congress, the Party Council arbitrarily set the conditions for counting the resolutions of local committees that spoke out in favor of convening the congress, showed distrust of these resolutions, delayed their publication, forged the vote count, arrogated to itself the right of the congress to declare mandates invalid, and disorganized the work of local committees, restoring the periphery against them. On March 8, 1905, the Party Council adopted a resolution against the convocation of the congress, publishing it in JV 89 of Iskra.

The party's Central Committee, which was dominated by conciliators Halperin, Krasin, Noskov, also opposed the convocation of the congress. The Central Committee, under the pretext of "establishing peace in the party," banned agitation for the congress and began to dissolve organizations that advocated the need to convene a congress.

In this situation, the Bureau of Majority Committees took over the organization of the congress entirely and on February 15 (28), 1905, published in the newspaper Vperyod "Notice of the Convocation of the 111th Party Congress." This document was based on the "Notice of the Formation of the Organizing Committee and the Convocation of the Third Regular Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party" written by V. I. Lenin in December 1904. To the notification of the BKB, the editors of Vperyod gave a note "From the Editor" written by V. I. Lenin, in which an approximate order of the day of the congress was proposed and an appeal was given to the party members to take an active part in its preparation. This position of the Bureau of Majority Committees was strongly supported by most local committees. In March 1905, out of 28 local party committees, 21 spoke in favor of convening a congress.

The Central Committee, given that the overwhelming majority of local party committees spoke in favor of calling the congress, was forced to abandon its previous position and on March 4, 1905, appealed to the party with an appeal to prepare the congress. On March 12, the Organizing Committee was formed to convene the party congress from representatives of the BKB and the Central Committee.

V. I. Lenin did an enormous amount of organizational work in preparing the congress. In the first half of December 1904, V. I. Lenin sent to all the members of the BKB the "Notice of the Formation of the Organizing Committee and the Convocation of the Third Regular Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party" written by him. At the same time, he makes a preliminary calculation of the committees entitled to participate in the congress, the number of their votes, a list of some possible delegates to the congress and draws up a draft order of the day of the congress. In February 1905, V. I. Lenin drew up a new draft of the agenda and a list of resolutions for the congress, and prepared a "General Plan of Decisions of the Third Congress." This document determined the position of the Bolsheviks on all the immediate questions of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and internal party relations. At the same time, V.I. Lenin wrote draft resolutions of the congress: on the disorganizing behavior of the Mensheviks or the new Iskraists, on the behavior of Plekhanov in the party crisis, on the principled position of the new Iskraists, on the relations between workers and intellectuals in the Social-Democratic Party, and he also drew up a questionnaire with a list of the most important questions, the clarification of which was necessary for the revision of the charter and drawing up other resolutions of the congress. In April 1905, V.I. Lenin wrote a note to the congress, in which he indicated which documents should be printed for members of the congress, made a list of resolutions and possible speakers on certain issues.

All organizations of the RSDLP were invited to the congress, but the Mensheviks refused to participate in the congress and gathered separately in Geneva, where they held their conference. The congress was attended by 24 delegates with casting votes and 14 with advisory



votes. Delegates from 21 committees were present with decisive votes, operating mainly in large industrial centers of Russia: Petersburg, Moscow, Tverskoy (at the end of the congress), Riga, Northern, Tula, Nizhny Novgorod, Ural, Samara, Saratov, Caucasian Union (8 votes, which was equal to 4 committees), Voronezh, Nikolaev, Odessa, Polessk, North-West, Kursk, Orel. Delegates from the Arkhangelsk, Kazan, Odessa committees, the Ural Union (the second delegate who arrived at the end of the congress), the Yekaterinoslav, Kharkov and Minsk Bolshevik groups, the Vperyod editorial board and the Foreign Organization Committee attended with deliberative votes.

The first sessions of the congress were devoted to discussing the report of the Organizing Committee and the mandate verification commission. In the speeches of the delegates and in the adopted resolution "On the constitution of the congress," the indisputable legality of the congress was stated, and opposition to the convocation of the congress of the members of the Party Council Plekhanov, Martov and Axelrod, contrary to the party charter, was condemned. The congress made these members of the former Soviet responsible for the split in the party.

The revolution of 1905-1907 — the first bourgeois-democratic revolution of the era of imperialism — presented Russian Social Democracy with "such demands that history has never before placed before the workers' party in the era of a democratic revolution." In accordance with this, the congress considered the fundamental questions of the tactics of the party in the revolution: about an armed uprising, about a provisional revolutionary government, about the attitude towards government policy on the eve of the coup, about an open political speech by the RSDLP, about the attitude towards the peasant movement, about the breakaway part of the party, and others.

The congress defined the strategic plan of the party in the bourgeois-democratic revolution: the proletariat, as the leader of the revolution in alliance with the entire peasantry, with the isolation of the liberal bourgeoisie, is fighting for the victory of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. The decisions of the congress were based on Lenin's teaching on the hegemony of the proletariat in the bourgeois-democratic revolution, his theory of the development of the

bourgeois-democratic revolution into a socialist one. V.I. Lenin taught that, despite the bourgeois-democratic nature of the revolution that was taking place, the proletariat is its guiding force, that the proletariat is primarily interested in its complete victory, because the victory of this revolution gives the proletariat the opportunity to organize itself, rise up politically, acquire experience and skills. political leadership of the working people and move from the bourgeois revolution to the socialist revolution.

The resolution of the congress "On armed uprising" indicated that only the proletariat "being by its position the most advanced and the only consistently revolutionary class, is thereby called to play a leading role in the general democratic revolutionary movement in Russia." The proletariat can play a leading role in the revolution on condition that it is rallied into a single and independent political force headed by the revolutionary Marxist party.

In the resolution "On the attitude to the peasant movement," the congress emphasized the need to provide the most energetic support for all revolutionary measures of the peasantry, up to the confiscation of the landlord's lands, and invited the party organizations to get closer to the peasant masses, to fight for the liberation of the peasantry from the influence of the liberal bourgeoisie, to actively involve them in the struggle against the autocracy.

Proceeding from the strategic plan in the revolution, the party put forward the main slogans before the masses: a democratic republic, confiscation of landlord's land, an 8-hour working day.

The idea of the hegemony of the working class in the bourgeois-democratic revolution and its alliance with the peasantry laid a dividing line between the Bolshevik, revolutionary and Menshevik, opportunist tactics.

The decisions of the Third Congress outlined concrete ways and means of the struggle of the working people for the victory of the revolution. The only means of overthrowing tsarism and conquering a democratic republic was recognized by the Third Congress of the RSDLP as a nationwide armed uprising. The congress instructed all party organizations "to take the most energetic measures to arm the

proletariat, as well as to develop a plan for an armed uprising and direct its leadership, creating for this, as necessary, special groups of party workers."

As a result of the victory of the armed popular uprising, a provisional revolutionary government of the victorious classes — workers and peasants — must be created. In the resolution "On a provisional revolutionary government", the congress defined its class character as a political organ of the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry and its tasks: consolidating the gains of the revolution, suppressing the resistance of the exploiting classes, fulfilling the immediate political and economic demands of the proletariat - the minimum program of the RSDLP, creating favorable conditions for the transition to the socialist revolution. For the successful fulfillment of these tasks by the provisional revolutionary government, the congress pointed out the admissibility of the participation of representatives of the Social Democratic Party in it.

The congress put forward tactical slogans - the Party's appeals aimed at unleashing the revolutionary initiative of the masses, at organizing the masses for an uprising against the autocracy. These slogans were: a) the use of mass political strikes; b) organizing the immediate implementation in a revolutionary way of the 8-hour working day and other requirements of the working class; c) the immediate organization of revolutionary peasant committees, as organs of the struggle of the peasantry against police-bureaucrats and landlord oppression, organs for carrying out democratic reforms in a revolutionary way up to the confiscation of landlords' lands; d) arming the workers.

The congress took the most important decisions on organizational issues. Proceeding from the Leninist principle of building a centralized working class party, one for all nationalities, the congress adopted a resolution "On the attitude towards national social democratic organizations", in which it instructed the Central Committee and local committees to make every effort to reach an agreement with national social democratic organizations to agree work and preparation of the possibility of uniting all social democratic parties into a single RSDLP.

The task of rallying all Social Democrats into a single party acquired special significance in connection with the unfolding revolution. In the resolution "On the breakaway part of the Party", the congress condemned the opportunist views of the Mensheviks not only on organizational but also on tactical questions and invited all party members to wage a vigorous ideological struggle everywhere against deviations from the principles of revolutionary Social Democracy. The congress adopted a special resolution on the dissolution of the committees that would refuse to recognize the decisions of the Third Congress, indicating that this should be resorted to "only after a thorough investigation has fully established the unwillingness of the Menshevik organizations and committees to submit to party discipline." In a special resolution, the congress instructed the Central Committee to take all measures to prepare and work out the conditions for merging with the breakaway part of the RSDLP.

In the resolution "On Propaganda and Agitation," the congress pointed out the exceptional importance of attracting workers directly connected with the revolutionary movement as members of party committees, agitators, and propagandists.

The congress adopted a new party charter. Lenin's formulation of the first paragraph of the party rules, adopted by the congress, was of tremendous importance in the further struggle for the organizational strengthening of the new type of party. The adopted charter clearly defined the rights of the Central Committee and the autonomy of local committees, and eliminated the system of two-center in the party. The congress elected a single governing center — the Central Committee headed by V. I. Lenin.

In the resolution on the newspaper *Vperyod*, the congress noted the outstanding role of the newspaper in the struggle for the restoration of party membership, its importance in convening the congress and expressed gratitude to the editorial board of *Vperyod*. The congress approved the new Central Organ of the Party - the newspaper *Proletary*. Lenin was elected editor of *Proletary* at the plenum of the Central Committee on April 27 (May 10), 1905. The report of the Party Central Committee was discussed at the 23rd session of the congress. The activities of the Central Committee were sharply criticized by the

delegates to the congress. The delegates criticized the conciliatory position of the Central Committee in relation to the factional, splitting activity of the Mensheviks, pointed to the separation of the Central Committee from local party organizations, and stressed that the Central Committee had not fulfilled its role as the political leader of the party. In his speech on the Central Committee report, V.I. Lenin noted that the Central Committee was confused and could not say anything good about its policy. The congress, having heard the report of the Central Committee, without adopting a resolution but a report, decided to move on to the next business.

All the work of the congress was held under the leadership of V.I. Lenin. VI Lenin made reports on the participation of the Social-Democrats. in the provisional revolutionary government, on a resolution to support the peasant movement, and spoke in debates on the legality of the congress, on an armed uprising, on the attitude to government tactics on the eve of the coup, on the relations between workers and intellectuals in the Social-Democrats. organizations, when discussing the party charter, on the issue of practical agreements with the socialist revolutionaries, on the report on the activities of the Central Committee. All the main resolutions adopted by the congress were written by V.I. Lenin: a resolution on an armed uprising, on a provisional revolutionary government, on an open political speech by the RSDLP, on the attitude towards the peasant movement. VI Lenin also wrote resolutions "Concerning the events in the Caucasus", "Resolution on the publication of the minutes of the congress."

V.I. Lenin was the chairman of all sessions of the congress: he kept detailed notes during the sessions, made numerous notes on notes submitted by delegates to the Bureau of the congress, kept notes of speakers, noted the state of the minutes prepared by the secretaries for approval by the congress.

Delegates A. V. Lunacharsky, V. V. Vorovsky, L. B. Krasin, A. A. Bogdanov and others made reports at the congress.

The decisions of the Third Party Congress were of great historical importance. They armed the party and the proletariat with Lenin's

strategy and tactics, revolutionary tactical slogans and formed the basis of all the party's practical activities during the period of the bourgeois-democratic revolution.

Simultaneously with the work of the Third Party Congress in Geneva, a Menshevik conference was held. The conference was attended by 8 local committees and unions of the RSDLP, which had, according to the charter, the right of representation at the party congress (Kiev, Yekaterinoslav, Donskoy, Kharkov and Smolensk committees, Crimean, Donetsk, and Siberian unions), the Nikolaev Menshevik Committee, illegally created in opposition to the full-fledged Nikolaev committee of the RSDLP. The conference was also attended by representatives of the St. Petersburg and Odessa groups of the Central Committee formed as a result of the splitting activity of the Mensheviks, the Menshevik periphery of the Moscow and Nizhny Novgorod committees, the Ukrainian Social Democratic Union, the Foreign League, the Iskra editorial board and other Menshevik organizations.

The resolutions of the Bolshevik Congress and the Menshevik Conference exposed the depth of the fundamental differences between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks. The Mensheviks denied the hegemony of the proletariat in the revolution and the policy of alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry. They considered the liberal bourgeoisie to be the leader of the bourgeois-democratic revolution and therefore argued that in the event of the victory of the revolution, power should be in its hands; they rejected the need to form a provisional revolutionary government from representatives of workers and peasants, the slogan of a revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry. The opportunist attitudes of the Mensheviks led to the substitution of reforms for the revolution, to the curtailment of the revolution and the preservation of the autocratic-landlord system, to the subordination of the working class to the interests of the bourgeoisie. Thus, the Mensheviks slipped into the swamp of compromise and turned into agents of the bourgeoisie in the labor movement.

Two congresses - two parties - that is how V.I. Lenin described the situation in the RSDLP in 1905.

The years of the first Russian revolution were a practical test of two political lines - the line of the revolutionary strategy and tactics of the Bolsheviks and the opportunist line of the Mensheviks that opposed it. (The course of the revolution confirmed the correctness of the strategic plan and tactical line of the Bolsheviks developed by the founder and leader of the Communist Party, V.I. Lenin.

The minutes of the III Congress were first illegally published by the Central Committee of the RSDLP in 1905 in Geneva. The commission for the publication of the minutes, elected by the congress, consisting of V.M. Obukhov, N.K. Krupskaya and V.V. Vorovsky, made the necessary abbreviations of the text for conspiratorial reasons, in addition, a part of the text related to the debate on the order of meetings was reduced.

In 1924, the protocols were republished by the Istpart of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), and in 1937 by the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute under the Central Committee of the CPSU (b). In the 1937 edition, a number of additions were included in the text of the protocols, mainly from materials omitted in the first edition for conspiratorial reasons. All of these additions have been given in the text in square brackets.

This edition of the minutes of the III Congress of the RSDLP is based on the text of the first, Geneva, edition, carefully verified with the text of the minutes stored in the archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, prepared by the protocol commission of the Congress for the Geneva edition, and the original secretarial notes. All additions that were not included in the first edition of the protocols for conspiratorial reasons or for reasons of shortening the text are given in this edition in footnotes, as a rule, according to the text of the protocol commission. Some additions, which were not included in the manuscript of the protocol commission, are given in the original secretarial record. An exception to the submission of additional material was made for the report of the Central Committee at the 23rd session of the congress. The report of the Central Committee in the first edition was printed with large abbreviations for conspiratorial reasons, the restoration of which under the line would be great inconvenience for the reader. Therefore, in the text of the minutes, the

report is given according to the first, Geneva, edition, and its full text is given in the section "Materials of the Congress".

The decoding of party nicknames and pseudonyms of speakers and speakers at the congress in the debate is given during the first speech at each session of the congress: the names are enclosed in square brackets. Obvious misprints and spelling errors have been corrected in the text without reservations. The titles of documents given by the editors are marked with an asterisk.

Compared to the previous edition, the present edition of the minutes of the congress has been significantly supplemented with new documents. The section "Materials of the Congress" includes the following documents of V. I. Lenin: the draft of the order of the day of the congress, synopses of speeches at the congress, notes of the chairman at the congress (diary of the chairman of the congress, notes of speakers, notes when discussing the charter of the RSDLP, on the state of the minutes). The book contains documents characterizing Lenin's struggle for the preparation of the congress: notes on possible participants in the III congress, draft agenda, a list of resolutions, draft resolutions, a general plan of congress decisions, a note to the congress. The section "Materials of the Congress" also includes reports and reports of local party committees to the III Congress of the RSDLP.

The following documents were published for the first time: V. I. Lenin "Notes when discussing the charter of the RSDLP", "Minutes of the unofficial meeting of delegates to the congress on April 12 (25), 1905", "Report of the publishing house" Vperyod "to the III Congress of the RSDLP", "Report of the library committee and archive of the RSDLP to the III Party Congress", "On the organization of work among the intelligentsia."

The publication is provided with informational notes, as well as indexes of names, party organizations, periodicals and literary works and sources mentioned in the text of the protocols.

Institute of Marxism-Leninism under the Central Committee of the CPSU



ЧЕТВЕРТЫЙ  
(ОБЪЕДИНИТЕЛЬНЫЙ)  
СЪЕЗД РСДРП

ПРОТОКОЛЫ

#### **Fourth (unification) congress of the RSDLP. April (April-May) 1906.**

The IV Congress of the RSDLP occupies a special place among the congresses of our party. It went down in the history of the party as "Unity". It formally united two parts of the party - the Bolshevik and the Menshevik, into which the Russian Social Democracy was split. At the congress, the Mensheviks gained a numerical superiority, and this determined the nature of the congress decisions on a number of issues of the first Russian revolution.

The Bolsheviks, led by Lenin, waged an irreconcilable struggle at the congress against the opportunism of the Mensheviks, for a clear revolutionary line, for an ideologically sustained Marxist party.

The IV (Unity) Congress of the RSDLP took place in the spring of 1906 in an atmosphere of a gradual and imperceptible decline in the October-December revolutionary wave. The congress was preceded by a bitter struggle between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks on all questions of the first revolution in Russia. The burning questions of the day that were put forward by the revolution: about the role of the proletariat in the bourgeois-democratic revolution, about the attitude towards the peasantry, towards the liberal bourgeoisie, about an armed uprising, about a provisional revolutionary government - were questions of a fierce struggle within Russian Social Democracy. Two lines - the revolutionary-Marxist line of the proletariat, which resolutely fought against tsarism, and the line of the liberal bourgeoisie, which led to the fragmentation of the forces of the revolutionary proletariat for the sake of reconciling the bourgeoisie with tsarism - took shape more and more vividly, more and more prominently.

"The Bolsheviks deliberately helped the proletariat to follow the first line, to fight with selfless courage and to lead the peasantry. The Mensheviks constantly slipped to the second line, corrupting the proletariat by adapting its movement to the liberals".

The December armed uprising in Moscow and a number of other cities and regions of Russia was the highest point in the

development of the revolution of 1905-1907. After the defeat of the armed uprising in the country, a turn towards the gradual decline of the revolution began. The autocracy passed from a long defense to an offensive against the revolution. Punitive expeditions raged in Moscow, Poland, Latvia, Estonia, Transcaucasia, Siberia. One province after another was declared martial law. There were mass shootings of unarmed workers and peasants. A wave of nationalist persecution was raging across the country.

Despite the onset of reaction, the revolution, however, was not yet suppressed. The economic and political situation in the country created the preconditions for its further rise. Without weakening the revolutionary onslaught, the proletariat continued to struggle as before. Every now and then there were numerous strikes, demonstrations, stopping the industrial life of the largest regions of Russia. The strike movement captured not only the central regions of the country, but also the remote ones - the North, the Middle Volga region, the Southern Urals, and others. Rallies and demonstrations have become commonplace in the most remote places in Russia. According to official data, in 1906 over a million workers took part in strikes.

The peasant movement assumed enormous proportions. In February 1906, it covered the Yekaterinoslav, Kherson, Saratov, Penza, and Mogilev provinces and then expanded throughout the country. Rising spontaneously to fight the landowners, the peasants demanded land, political freedom, and a constituent assembly. The strike struggle of agricultural workers assumed considerable proportions, along with the action of the peasants. In 1906, up to 2 million agricultural workers took part in strikes in rural areas.

In the army and navy, the revolutionary movement also continued, which by the summer of 1906 took the form of major

military uprisings in different regions of Russia: an uprising in the Svea-Borg fortress, in Kronstadt, an uprising on the Pamyat Azov cruiser, in Revel, etc. Returning from front, from Manchuria, the soldiers carried with them discontent, infected the villages with them, exacerbated the revolutionary ferment in the country.

Political and economic strikes by workers, peasant uprisings, and movement among the troops indicated a possible growth of a new upsurge in the revolution. The course of revolutionary events spoke of a growing movement. Judging by the revolutionary situation in the country, it was still impossible to think about the retreat of the revolution. Only later, a year later, it became clear that the revolution was on the decline.

"The turn in the development of the struggle begins with the defeat of the December uprising," wrote Lenin, characterizing the situation and determining the time and pace of the onset of reaction. - The counter-revolution goes on the offensive step by step as the mass struggle weakened. In the era of the first Duma, this struggle was expressed very, very impressively in the strengthening of the peasant movement, in the widespread defeat of the nests of the feudal landlords, in a whole series of soldier uprisings. And the reaction then came slowly, not daring to immediately carry out a coup d'etat. Only after the suppression of the Sveaborg and Kronstadt uprisings of July 1906 did it become bolder, instituted a military field regime, began to take away the right to vote in parts ... finally, finally surrounded the Second Duma with a police siege and overthrew the entire notorious constitution".

In contrast to the Mensheviks, who in every possible way sought to introduce the revolutionary movement into a "legal" framework adapted to police conditions and called on the masses to peaceful parliamentary work, the Bolsheviks with the same decisiveness raised the question of preparing for a new

revolutionary outburst. Lenin calls the Menshevik position of curtailing the revolution shortsightedness, "subservience to the situation of the moment." In a number of articles, Lenin emphasizes the great significance of the October-December period of the struggle, which roused the gigantic masses of the people to participate in historical creativity. Lenin called for taking into account the experience of the armed uprising and preparing for a new offensive in a more organized manner.

In connection with the tasks of preparing the forces for a new revolutionary battle, the Bolsheviks pose and solve the major tactical problems of the revolution. In contrast to the Menshevik, bourgeois-reformist position of adaptation to the liberals, the Bolsheviks come out with a revolutionary tactic, calculated for a new upsurge, of an active boycott of the First State Duma. The position of an active boycott of the Duma was not a simple exclusion from the elections, did not mean the self-elimination of the proletariat from the arena of political struggle. She set the task of widespread use of all election meetings for social democratic agitation and the organization of forces for an armed uprising. "To use meetings," Lenin wrote, explaining the tactics of an active boycott, "means to penetrate them both legally (by signing up in the voter lists) and illegally, to lay out the entire program and all the views of the socialists, to show all the falsity and falsity of the Duma, to call for struggle for the constituent assembly".

The Mensheviks opposed the boycott of the Duma. They threw out at first the half-hearted slogan: "to participate in the elections of delegates and electors, but not to elect to the Duma", and somewhat later spoke out for participation in the Duma. The Mensheviks viewed the Duma as a "nationwide political center" capable of rallying the people around itself. Allowing participation in the Duma, the Mensheviks did not at all raise the question of the need to combat "constitutional illusions";

they supported in the people a deceptive belief in the possibility of fulfilling the revolutionary demands of Social Democracy by peaceful means, with the help of the Duma.

Elections to the Duma in accordance with the December I law, which ensured the tremendous predominance of landlords and capitalists in the Duma, began in March 1906. They took place in an atmosphere of police terror, punitive expeditions, mass arrests and executions. By violence, police reprisals, all revolutionary elements were virtually removed from the elections.

In articles, brochures, leaflets during this time, Lenin denounced the Duma as a gross forgery of the people's representation, as a special police deception of the people. Lenin explains the need to boycott the Duma by the fact that by participating in the elections, in an atmosphere of a possible upsurge of the revolution, the party will involuntarily support the people's faith in the Duma and thereby weaken the strength of its struggle against counterfeiting the people's representation; on the other hand, participation in elections in a police situation, in the absence of freedom of agitation, will be reduced to exsanguinating the working class, or to supporting the Cadets, to a bloc with the Cadet party, and, consequently, to abandoning the revolutionary tasks of the proletariat. The Bolsheviks cruelly ridicule the Menshevik position on the constitutional parliamentary path of development, the desire of the Mensheviks to reach an agreement with the bourgeoisie and their readiness to make concessions to the autocracy. The boycott of the Duma was for the Bolsheviks the most decisive means of struggle arising from the direct revolutionary movement of the masses, the slogan of the struggle to concentrate and generalize the scattered and partial uprisings and strikes of the period of 1906, the slogan of an attack on the old government. "The revolutionary socialist movement,"

taught Lenin, "must be the first to take the path of the most decisive and most direct struggle and the last to take more roundabout methods of struggle."

The struggle of the Bolsheviks for the October-December path of development, for a new revolutionary upsurge in the first half of 1906, the struggle against constitutional illusions, the boycott of the Bulygin and Witte Dumas were a struggle for the hegemony of the proletariat in the bourgeois-democratic revolution, for the completion of the bourgeois-democratic revolution ... The boycott of the Witte Duma brought, of course, many valuable results; it played a major role in the development of the class consciousness of the proletariat, it significantly undermined the authority of the Duma, weakened faith in the Duma, and dealt a blow to constitutional illusions among a certain section of the population. The Bolshevik boycott tactics were accepted and supported by the most advanced elements of the proletariat. The main task of the boycott - to disrupt the convocation of the Duma - was not achieved, however: in this respect, too, the boycott of the First Duma in 1906 was unsuccessful. The revolutionary movement was insufficient to sweep away the Duma and overthrow the autocracy.

Subsequently, Lenin, returning to the lessons of the boycott of 1906, noted that the boycott of the First Duma in the conditions of the beginning of the decline of the revolution was a mistake, albeit a small one, easily fixable.

In connection with the preparation of forces for a new revolutionary explosion, Lenin raised and decided the question of strengthening the revolutionary Social Democratic Party. The unification of all Social Democratic workers into one centralized, real Marxist party was the most urgent task of the revolution. The striving for unification, for coordinated actions in revolutionary actions was especially pronounced among the

lower classes, among the workers. Local party organizations, under the pressure of the need for unity of action, began by gravity to unite both parts of the party. But Lenin thought of uniting with the Mensheviks only on condition that the ideological and organizational independence of the Bolsheviks was preserved, provided that both parts of the party were clearly delimited. The tactics of rapprochement with the Mensheviks did not represent for Lenin any diplomatic maneuver or concession to the Mensheviks. The question for him was about the struggle for the masses, about the conquest of the workers, the question was about the practical implementation of the idea of the hegemony of the proletariat in the revolution.

"A merger is necessary," wrote Lenin in one of the articles devoted to the preparations for the Unification Party Congress. - The merger must be supported. In the interests of merging, it is necessary to fight the Mensheviks over tactics within the framework of the partnership, trying to convince all party members, reducing the polemics to a business-like presentation of the arguments for and against, to clarifying the position of the proletariat and its class tasks. But the merger does not in the least oblige us to gloss over tactical differences or to present our tactics inconsistently and not in pure form. Nothing like this. The ideological struggle for tactics, which we recognize as correct, must be waged openly, directly and resolutely to the end ... ".

The need to convene a Unity Congress was also dictated by other considerations. On the territory of Russia, in addition to the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, national Social Democratic parties existed and operated separately: The Social Democrats of Poland and Lithuania, the Latvian Social Democratic Labor Party and the Bund. The interests of the revolution, the interests



of the struggle against tsarism demanded rallying, uniting the efforts of the workers of all nationalities of Russia.

The IV (Unity) Congress did not lead to a real alliance with the Mensheviks. The struggle that preceded the congress, which became especially acute during the revolutionary storm of 1905, unfolded with exceptional clarity at the Fourth Congress.

Before the congress, VI Lenin worked out the Bolshevik platform — the draft congress resolutions on all questions of the revolution. Lenin wanted the workers to clearly see the positions of the Bolsheviks. The Mensheviks advanced their tactical platform for the congress. On these platforms, mainly when discussing the question of attitude towards the State Duma, elections to the congress took place. The campaign to discuss both platforms and elect delegates to the convention lasted for about two months. As a result, its overwhelming majority of party organizations spoke out in favor of the Bolshevik platform. The Bolshevik platform was approved and only Bolshevik organizations were sent to the congress: Botkin, Vladimir, Voronezh, Elizavetgradskaya, Dvinskaya, Ivanovo-Voznesenskaya, Kineshemskaya, Kostromskaya, Kursk, Minsk, Perm, Tagil, Tver, Ufa, Rizhskaya, Yaroslavl, Finland military. A larger number of Bolshevik delegates were sent by the party organizations of the largest industrial centers of Russia: Moscow (9 Bolsheviks and 4 Mensheviks), Baku (2 Bolsheviks and 1 Menshevik).

The Bolshevik tactics of an active boycott of the Duma were supported by the party committees: Saratov, Kazan, Irkutsk, Krasnoyarsk, Odessa, Kharkov, Yekaterinburg, Nizhny Novgorod Joint Committee of the RSDLP, Joint Committee of Libavian Social Democratic Organizations, Caucasian Union of RSDLP, Tashkent and Vyazemsk Social Democratic Groups. Almost unanimously, the national social democratic

organizations - Polish, Latvian, and Jewish - spoke out in favor of the boycott tactics.

The struggle was especially acute in the largest and most influential organization, the Petersburg one. The United Central Committee of the RSDLP proposed that the Bolshevik and Menshevik platforms be discussed at all workers' circles, with the obligatory participation of speakers from both sides. The discussion ended with the platform voting. After that, elections were held for a city-wide conference and the calculation of one delegate per 30 voting members of the party.

Despite the police obstacles, in St. Petersburg, in 3 days, about 4 thousand workers - members of the organization were gathered and interviewed, in addition, over 120 discussion meetings were held on the issue of two tactics, which were attended and then participated in the vote by over 2000 people. that is, two-thirds of the members of the party organization. 1,168 party members supported the boycott, 926 were against.

Despite the enormous successes of the Bolshevik platform in Petersburg, the Mensheviks succeeded in gaining an insignificant predominance at the congress from the Petersburg organization. Out of the total number of 11 delegates with a decisive vote from St. Petersburg, 5 Bolsheviks and 6 Mensheviks attended the congress; with an advisory - 2 Bolsheviks. The Menshevik majority at the congress succeeded in culling the decisive vote of the Bolshevik Molodenkov (A.A. Gapeev) sent by the student organization of St. Petersburg.

The congress met from April 10 (23) to April 25 (May 8) 1906. It was attended by 112 delegates with a decisive vote, 22 with an advisory vote, and 12 representatives of national social democratic organizations (social democracy of Poland and Lithuania, Latvian social democracy, Bund, representatives of the Ukrainian, Finnish, and Bulgarian Social-Democratic

workers' parties). According to factional affiliation, of the decisive votes, approximately 62 belonged to the Mensheviks and 46 to the Bolsheviks. A small number of decisive votes were held by the conciliators (the so-called "center"), who were sided with the Mensheviks on fundamental issues.

The somewhat unexpected fact of the predominance of the Mensheviks at the congress, after the enormous successes of the Bolsheviks in discussing and voting on tactical platforms in a number of areas, was due to the fact that many Bolshevik organizations were defeated during and after the December uprising and were unable to send delegates to the congress.

The Mensheviks, on the other hand, sent their delegates mainly from small craft centers and non-industrial areas, where there were no mass demonstrations. In addition, the Mensheviks in the "days of freedom" generally grew up, expanding their organizations to include a petty-bourgeois intelligentsia, which had nothing in common with revolutionary Marxism. The Menshevik majority at the congress was achieved mainly by the "Caucasian" votes, the proportion of which was far from equal to that of the representatives of industrial Russia.

The Menshevik organization of Tiflis, for example, sent to the congress with decisive votes 10 Menshevik delegates (out of a total of 11 delegates), that is, almost as many as the largest proletarian organization, the Petersburg one, had at the congress.

The artificially inflated number of the Menshevik delegation in Tiflis aroused the indignation of the Tiflis workers. In their protest, sent to the congress signed by 200 people and read out at the 20th meeting, the workers reported that the Tiflis Mensheviks, when compiling the list of party members, did not comply with the requirements of the RSDLP charter: they included completely random persons who had no idea of the

party on the list. with the sole purpose of "getting more congress mandates."

The number obtained in this way was transferred by the Mensheviks at the congress, giving them the opportunity to come to an agreement and prejudge the decisions of the congress.

The Fourth Congress was called the Unity Congress, but the predominance of the Mensheviks at the Congress determined the nature of most of its decisions. The indecision and half-heartedness of its opportunist majority ran through all the resolutions of the Congress.

The main issue around which a fierce struggle unfolded at the congress was the question of revising the agrarian program. The speakers on this most important, fundamental issue were from the Bolsheviks V.I. Lenin, from the Mensheviks - John (P. Maslov). The Bolshevik draft agrarian program was substantiated by V. I. Lenin for the congress in the work "Revision of the agrarian program of the workers' party", distributed to the delegates of the congress. The essence of Lenin's agrarian program in the bourgeois-democratic revolution was reduced to the demand for the confiscation of landlords, church, monastic, and other lands and, in the event of a decisive victory of the revolution, to the nationalization of the entire land. Lenin's agrarian program was built with the expectation of bringing the bourgeois-democratic revolution to the end, its development into a socialist revolution. It strengthened the alliance of the proletariat with the peasantry as a necessary condition for the victory of the revolution and facilitated the transition to the socialist revolution for the proletariat in alliance with the rural poor. The Bolsheviks, SI Gusev, AV Lunacharsky, and others spoke out for the Leninist program of nationalizing the land at the congress.

P. Maslov's Menshevik project demanded the "alienation" of large land plots and their municipalization. Under this program, the landowners' lands were not at the disposal of the peasant committees, but in the hands of the municipalities, from which the peasants had to rent land, each according to their own strength. Thus, the solution of the land question according to the Menshevik program depended not on the peasants themselves - by seizing the landowners' lands - but on the bureaucratic bodies of local self-government. The Menshevik program eliminated the peasants from resolving the land problem; it was not designed to completely abolish landlord ownership. Instead of calling for revolutionary action, the Menshevik agrarian program sowed illusions about the possibility of resolving the agrarian question peacefully, while maintaining the reactionary central government; Instead of the idea of an alliance between the working class and the peasantry, the Mensheviks essentially pursued a policy of agreement between the peasants and the landlords. This was the political harm of the Menshevik agrarian program.

In addition to the main reports on the agrarian question, GV Plekhanov, who defended P. Maslov's project with some amendments, and Schmidt (P. Rumyantsev), who defended nationalization in the spirit of Lenin's "Option A" (see this edition, pp. 490 and 515) and S. A. Borisov.

Borisov's program was closest to Lenin's, but instead of demanding the nationalization of the land, it put forward the division of the confiscated land into the personal property of the peasantry. The mistake of the divisionists was that they proceeded from the proposition of a long break between the bourgeois democratic and socialist revolutions. Opposing Lenin's nationalization, the divisionists did not understand, did not take into account its revolutionary role in the future, that is, did not take into account the prospects for the development of

the bourgeois-democratic revolution into a socialist one, "... the supporters of division," Lenin said, "correctly understand the peasant words about nationalization , explain them correctly, but - this is the whole point - but they do not know how to make this correct explanation a lever for changing the world, a tool for further movement forward. It is not about imposing nationalization on the peasants instead of partition ... The point is that a socialist, mercilessly exposing the peasant's petty-bourgeois illusions about "God's land", must be able to show the peasant the way forward".

At the congress Borisov's program was defended by I. V. Stalin, Matveev (V. A. Bazarov-Rudnev), Sakarelov (N. Sakvarelidze) and other Bolsheviks.

Criticizing the partition program, Lenin noted that it was erroneous, but not harmful. In order not to split the votes against the Mensheviks, Lenin voted at the congress together with the divisionists.

After an intense struggle, the congress, by an insignificant majority of votes, approved the Menshevik agrarian program for the municipalization of the land, with a number of amendments adopted under pressure from the Bolsheviks. The Bolsheviks managed to achieve the inclusion in the program adopted by the congress, the demand for the confiscation of the landlord's land, instead of "alienation" - the periodical Menshevik program. At the insistence of the Bolsheviks, a clause on the nationalization of waters and forests was included in the program. In addition, the congress acknowledged that if municipalisation was not possible, the party would speak out in favor of dividing the land taken from the landlords between the peasants. In the tactical resolution on the agrarian question, the congress inserted a clause on the independent organization of the agricultural proletariat. This point, as well as the general part of the program, were taken entirely from Lenin's draft

agrarian program. "Instead of the original Maslov program," Lenin ironically said, "we got, as they joked at the congress, a "castrated" program".

The congress approved the Menshevik resolutions on the State Duma (support for it was recognized as necessary), on an armed uprising, and adopted a half-hearted decision on partisan actions. The resolution on the armed uprising persistently called for opposition to all attempts to involve the proletariat in an armed conflict. It, like the speeches of the Mensheviks at the congress on the question of the armed uprising, was imbued with the spirit of opportunism and reactionarism. Without discussion, the congress passed a compromise resolution on trade unions, which recognized the necessary assistance to the party in organizing unions, and a resolution on the attitude towards the peasant movement. Among the latest issues at the congress, the issue of unification with the social democracy of Poland and Lithuania and with the Latvian social democracy, which became part of the RSDLP as territorial organizations, working among the proletariat of all nationalities of the region, was resolved. The congress also adopted the draft conditions for unification with the Bund, but in a special resolution it decisively opposed the organization of the proletariat by nationality. At the congress, on the initiative of the Ukrainian Social Democratic Labor Party, the question of uniting with the USDLP was raised, but an agreement with it did not take place due to its petty-bourgeois nationalist character. The workers of the Ukraine united and fought in the all-Russian organizations of the RSDLP, educated in the spirit of class struggle and proletarian internationalism.

The association with national social democratic organizations was of great importance for the unity of the party ranks. It helped, in the words of V. I. Lenin, "to erase the last traces of

the circle movement” and to increase the strength of the proletariat of all the peoples of Russia.

The unification made it possible for the Bolsheviks to exercise ideological influence on broad strata of workers of all nationalities, ensured international education and close rallying of the truly revolutionary forces of the proletariat. It made it easier to expose and isolate opportunist, chauvinist, and nationalist elements among the Social Democrats. By the decision to unite with national social-democratic organizations, the congress demonstrated the triumph of the principles of proletarian internationalism, proclaimed by Lenin and consolidated by the Second Congress of the RSDLP.

The congress finished its work with the adoption of a new party charter. The first paragraph of the charter was approved in the formulation of Lenin, which he defended at the Second Party Congress and adopted by the Third Congress. The Mensheviks were afraid to alienate the workers, to be left without the masses, so they were forced to agree with the Lenin formulation of the first paragraph of the charter. The Central Committee, elected at the IV Congress, included 3 Bolsheviks and 7 Mensheviks. The editorial board of the Central Organ was composed of only Mensheviks.

Organizationally uniting with the Mensheviks, the Bolsheviks reserved the right to fight ideologically against the Mensheviks, the right to fight against the confusion of different parts of the party, two different ideologies.

The congress showed with exceptional clarity that the Mensheviks were reformist in solving the problems of the bourgeois-democratic revolution and the question of the role of classes in it, clearly demonstrating their position of turning the proletariat into the "tail" of the liberal-monarchist bourgeoisie. By the semi-Cadet agrarian program, by the resolution on the



State Duma, on the armed uprising, the Mensheviks were clearly sliding towards liquidationism, towards revising the revolutionary tactics of the proletariat.

Having formally liquidated the split, the congress, of course, strengthened the unity of action of the Party organizations for the time being, but it did not and could not lead to real unification. The struggle that preceded the congress between the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks developed at the congress with particular acuteness. Therefore, according to Lenin, the great ideological matter of the congress was not unification, but a clear and definite demarcation of the right and left wings of the Social Democracy.

The struggle at the congress revealed to the party masses the content and depth of the fundamental differences between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks. The materials of the congress made it possible for party members and class-conscious workers to sort out ideological differences, to understand Lenin's revolutionary line more clearly and deeper, and to feel the opportunism of the Mensheviks. A sharp ideological demarcation helped the firmly united, revolutionary core of the Bolsheviks in the struggle for the party and for the broad proletarian masses, and at the same time for the hegemony of the proletariat in the revolutionary movement.

VI Lenin attached great importance to the study of the materials of the Congress. In May 1906, Lenin wrote for the St. Petersburg workers a "Report on the Unity Congress of the RSDLP", in which he called on all party members and class-conscious workers to independently study the documentary material of the congress.

"The Unity Congress," wrote Lenin, "provided a mass of business-like, documentary material for determining — an exact and indisputable definition of what we agree on and

where we disagree, exactly how much we disagree. It is necessary to study this documentary material, it is necessary to know the facts that accurately show the content and dimensions of the disagreements, it is necessary to wean from the old kruzhekovshchina habit - to present outcries, terrible words, formidable accusations instead of a business analysis of such and such, which manifested itself in such and such -that question of disagreement ".

The minutes of the IV (Unity) Congress of the RSDLP were first published in 1907 in Moscow in the processing of an editorial commission elected by the congress, consisting of two Bolsheviks - Orlovsky (V. Borovsky) and Panov (I. Teodorovich) and two Mensheviks - Katrina (S. Zavadsky) and Negoreva (N. Iordansky). In the event of disagreements in approving and editing the minutes, the congress gave the commission the right to appeal to the delegates of the congress who were in St. Petersburg at the time of editing the minutes. As a result, the minutes of the congress, in the editing of which the Mensheviks took part, suffered from significant shortcomings: they did not have records of a number of reports and speeches at the congress, in particular, they did not have Lenin's reports on the agrarian question, on the present day and the class tasks of the proletariat and his final words on the issue of attitude to the State Duma.

Later, the minutes of the IV (Unity) Congress were republished by Istpart (1926) and the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute under the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) (1934). In this issue the minutes are printed according to the text of the 1907 edition. As in the 1934 edition, the minutes are preceded by V. I. Lenin's "Report on the Unification Congress of the RSDLP", which illuminates the picture of the work of the congress and the struggle of the Bolsheviks at the congress with the opportunist trend within the RSDLP - the Mensheviks ...

For convenience and orientation of the reader, the text of the minutes of this edition, in contrast to the edition of 1907, includes a Bolshevik draft resolution on the State Duma, written by V. I. Lenin (see this edition, pp. 245-246).

In square brackets in the text, there is a transcript of the nicknames and pseudonyms of each identified speaker and speaker when he first appeared at this meeting. Individual passages of the text that are not clear in editorial terms were specified in square brackets or specified in footnotes, signed, in contrast to the notes of the protocol committee of the congress, with the signature: Ed. Obvious misprints found in the text of the protocols have been corrected without reservations.

The documents cited in the "Appendices" section of the protocols of the 1907 edition (the resolutions adopted by the congress - on the attitude towards the peasant movement, the State Duma, the armed uprising, partisan actions, the trade unions, the attitude towards the bourgeois parties, the organizational charter, and the letter K. Kautsky Congress), in the present edition, as in the 1934 edition, have been significantly supplemented and rearranged as follows:

The section "Materials of the Congress" includes resolutions proposed by the Bolsheviks at the Congress (II), draft Bolshevik resolutions for the Congress (I) and resolutions (V) adopted by the Congress. In the same section, instead of Lenin's speech on the agrarian question, which was absent in the text of the minutes, is printed his brochure "Revision of the agrarian program of the workers' party" (III) and Lenin's "Appeal to the party of delegates to the Unification Congress belonging to the former Bolshevik faction" (IV). This also included a somewhat revised list of congress delegates (VII), placed in the 1907 edition at the beginning of the text, and the order of the day of the congress (VI).

Subsection (V) "Resolutions and Resolutions" adopted by the Congress, in this edition, in comparison with all previous ones, x ^ is supplemented with "Greetings from V. I. Lenin on behalf of the RSDLP to Polish Social Democracy" merging with the RSDLP and ^ • ^ "Statement of the delegates of the LSDLP" in connection with the merger. ^ ~ The section "Appendices; - includes materials related to the unification and convocation of the congress (I), the draft agrarian commission for the congress (II), draft Menshevik resolutions submitted to the congress (III) and introduced at the congress (IV), tactical the resolutions of the national social-democratic organizations adopted on the eve of the congress (V), K. Kautsky's letter to the congress (VL) and the notification of the Central Committee of the RSDLP about the congress (VII).

The subsection of the Menshevik resolutions submitted to the congress has been supplemented in this edition with the draft "On Trade Unions." The preface of the editorial committee elected by the congress (pp. 3-4) is given, as in the 1907 edition, at the beginning of the text of the minutes.

The minutes are equipped with a scientific reference apparatus: notes at the end of the text, indexes of names, social democratic organizations, periodicals and literary works and sources mentioned in the text.

The edition was prepared for publication by R. I. Markova; the index was compiled by KN Uryvaeva, indexes of the periodical press, social democratic organizations and literary works and sources - by 3. S. Nikolaevskaya; edition editors - N.I. Shatagin, M.D. Stuchebnikova.

Institute of Marxism-Leninism under the Central Committee of the CPSU

УЧЕБНИК И СЪОБЩА-ТЕЛСКО-ОБРАЗОВАТЕЛЕН МАТЕРИАЛ

# ПРОТОКОЛЫ ПЯТОГО СЪЕЗДА РСДРП

ИЗДАНИЕ ПЕРВОЕ  
1907

### **Fifth Congress of the RSDLP. May-June 1907.**

The Fifth (London) Congress occupies a significant place in the history of our party. A whole decade lies between it and the next, VI, Party Congress — periods of reaction, a new revolutionary upsurge, the imperialist war, and the February-March 1917 revolution.

The struggle of the Bolsheviks against the liberal-bourgeois policy of Menshevism, including Trotskyism (at that time a Russian variety of centrism), which reached a great acuteness at the Congress, was of tremendous international significance. The different understanding by the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks of all the questions of the revolution of 1905-1907, which at the same time were the fundamental questions of the world revolution, and the tasks of the proletariat and its party, was once again clearly revealed in the debates at the congress. And this debate at the large congress showed especially clearly two political trends throughout the Second International. The entire congress was a demonstration of the struggle between two lines in the revolution: the revolutionary proletariat — the Bolsheviks, and the bourgeois reformist — the Mensheviks.

The congress took place in the spring (May 13 - June 1), 1907, at the pass between revolution and reaction, in the conditions of the last upsurge of the revolution of 1905-1907, which replaced the period of its greatest decline — shortly before the June third coup. Analyzing in 1910 the strike movement of the three years of the revolution in connection with the main moments of its development and revealing the objective significance of the spring upsurge of 1907 from the point of view of the final results of the entire "three years of storm and onslaught", Lenin pointed out that this period marked "a suspension of retreat and an attempt retreating again to take the offensive. " "If it were not for these interruptions," said Lenin, "the event of June 3, 1907, historically completely inevitable, since retreats

remained retreats, would have taken place earlier, perhaps a whole year, or even more than a year earlier."

More clearly than ever before, it was during this period of temporary suspension of the retreat that the liberal-bourgeois positions of the Mensheviks, their openly opportunist policies, came to light. "Coordination" of social democratic and liberal-bourgeois policies, - said Lenin when summing up the results of the Fifth Congress, - such is the last word of Menshevism.

The very discussion of the agenda of the congress revealed the deepest contradictions that divided the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, who were only formally united in the RSDLP.

In the struggle around the agenda of the congress, which took many days of continuous and stormy meetings with roll-call votes, etc., the Bolsheviks succeeded in winning only one question out of the general political questions proposed by them: the attitude towards bourgeois parties. "And this question," said Lenin, "became the head not only of all the fundamental questions of the congress, but of all work in general. It happened so and it should have happened precisely because the real source of almost all and certainly all significant differences, all differences on the practical policy of the proletariat in the Russian revolution was a different assessment of our attitude towards non-proletarian parties.

It was on this very important principled, general political question that the Bolsheviks won a victory at the congress. The resolution of the Bolsheviks was taken as a basis and then adopted as a whole, after minor amendments. True, the Mensheviks and Bundists, together with Leon Trotsky, who unsuccessfully attempted at the congress to play the role of the leader of the "non-factional" center, tried with an endless stream of all sorts of amendments to disfigure the Bolshevik resolution adopted by the congress as a basis, but they also

suffered defeat here. The agenda of the congress reflects such important questions as the question of the ways of development of the bourgeois-democratic revolution with its prospect of growing into a socialist revolution, the question of the allies of the proletariat and its hegemony, etc.

The Bolsheviks also won victory on other questions of the agenda of the Congress. "At the London Congress," Lenin summed up the work of the Congress, "the failure of the Menshevik policy towards liberalism was the most complete."

The reader will find an exhaustive coverage of these questions in the article by Comrade Stalin in this publication. Written in 1907, immediately after the congress, Stalin's article, along with the works of Lenin, is a most valuable summary of the work of the congress.

The victory of the Bolsheviks a year after the "unification" congress of 1906, which gave "power" to the Mensheviks, was of tremendous international significance.

However, it was still far from complete victory over the Mensheviks. There was still a long struggle with these agents of the bourgeoisie in a dark period of reaction. Comrade Stalin, who took part in the work of the congress, recalls on this occasion: "It was then that I saw Lenin in the role of a winner. Usually, victory makes other leaders dizzy, arrogant and arrogant. Most often, in such cases, they begin to celebrate victory, to rest on their laurels. But Lenin did not in the least resemble such leaders. On the contrary, it was after the victory that he became especially vigilant and alert. I remember, Comrade Stalin says, how Lenin then persistently instilled in the delegates: "The first thing is not to get carried away with victory and not to boast; the second thing is to secure victory for oneself; third, to finish off the enemy, for he has only been beaten, but he has not yet been finished off." He caustically



ridiculed those delegates who frivolously assured that “from now on, the Mensheviks are finished”.

The Central Committee elected with such a balance of “forces”, of course, could not prove to be efficient. The Menshevik part of the Central Committee clearly sabotaged the decisions of the Fifth Congress, leading a course towards disrupting the Central Committee and liquidating the illegal party. Therefore, the Bolshevik Center, headed by Lenin, played an enormous role in the period of dark reaction that soon followed. finalized at one of the factional conferences of the Bolsheviks during the congress. It took five years of a fierce struggle — in the conditions of the most vicious reaction and the onset of counterrevolution — against the Menshevik liquidators, with the liquidators inside out (otzovists, ultimatumists), with unscrupulous conciliators, with the centrism of the liquidator Trotsky, with tireless and disgusting opposition on the part of the opportunism and centrism of the leadership of the Second International, so that in January 1912 at the Prague Conference, which played the role of the party congress, this stage of the struggle could be completed by the complete expulsion of the liquidators.

The minutes of the V Congress were first published in 1909 in the Central Committee editions in Paris. In 1933 they were reissued. Only very recently did the IMEL receive the original protocol records preserved from the protocol committee of the congress. In this edition, the text of the minutes is checked against the existing minutes and other documents preserved with them (statements, autographs).

Lenin's reports and speeches at the congress are reproduced from the original notes (abstracts of his speeches), which Lenin submitted to the protocol commission of the congress. The most significant discrepancies (in comparison with the text of the

Paris edition of the protocols) are indicated in the corresponding footnotes.

The decoding of nicknames and pseudonyms under which speakers and speakers appear in the text of the minutes was given only at the first presentation of this participant at this meeting of the Congress. In such cases, with rare exceptions, the names by which the carriers of the nicknames are best known are enclosed in straight brackets.

The documents cited in the "Supplements" to the Paris edition are regrouped and, together with other materials not included in the Paris edition, make up three independent sections. The first section ("Resolutions and Resolutions") includes, first of all, the resolutions defended by the Bolsheviks at the Congress itself, and then — the resolutions adopted by the congress.

In the second section ("Materials of the Congress"), in addition to the list, delegates and guests, statistical data on delegates, greetings and statements published in the Paris edition, - • documents of great historical party interest are included, such as: draft resolutions of the Bolsheviks, to congress, worked out by Lenin, and Lenin's report to the Fifth Congress> on the St. Petersburg split and the associated establishment ". waiting for a party court." Although these works of Lenin were included in the corresponding volumes of the Works, we nevertheless considered it extremely necessary to reproduce them in appendices to the new edition of the minutes of the congress, to which they are directly related.

The same section contains the first published minutes of two closed sessions of the congress, as well as a number of information bulletins of the congress that were released during the congress.

The third section ("Appendices") includes all other materials and documents related to the work of the congress.

The text of the program adopted at the Second Congress, given in the Paris edition, is not reproduced in this edition.

All footnotes belonging to the editors of this publication, in contrast to such notes of the protocol commission of the congress, are signed: Ed. The work on preparation for publication of this publication was done by I.V., Volkovicher. May 1935

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The article by Comrade Stalin, written shortly after the Fifth Congress, was first published in 1907 in the first two issues of the Bolshevik newspaper "Bakinsky Proletary" (No. 1 of June 20 and No. 2 of July 10), signed: "Koba Ivanovich." The article was marked: "To be continued." However, for reasons "independent" from the author (the surveillance of spies intensified by the second half of 1907, then arrest and exile), the article was never finished. I. STALIN, LONDON CONGRESS OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC WORKERS. it is in Works, Vol. 2, 1907 1913

In publishing — on behalf of the Party Central Committee — the minutes of the London Congress, we consider it necessary to clarify the following. At the beginning (after the congress itself) 2 commissions were involved in editing the minutes: the "foreign" one and the one acting inside Russia. The first of them almost prepared the minutes of the congress for publication and submitted them to the final editing and approval of the commission located in Russia. But all the work of both was lost. almost nothing since the processed text of the protocols perished during the mass arrests. After a short break, the Central Committee convened a new commission, consisting of 5 members, one each from both trends in the party (Bolshevik and Menshevik) and one each from the Social-Democratic national organizations (PSD, Lat., Bund).

The commission of the last composition had to again carry out a large work of processing the rough materials left over from the "overseas" commission. Now this work is finished, and the minutes — albeit with a huge delay — are being published. The delay is also caused by the fact that the Central Committee made a number of attempts to publish the minutes legally. It failed, and we are publishing the protocols illegally.

Foreign Bureau of the Central Committee of the RSDLP,

# КОНФЕРЕНЦИИ РСДРП

1912 года

Документы и материалы

## **Sixth (Prague) All-Russian Conference of the RSDLP, January 1912**

The sixth (Prague) All-Russian Conference of the RSDLP took place on January 18-30 (5-17), 1912 in Prague. The conference was attended by 14 delegates with a decisive vote from organizations of St. Petersburg, Moscow, the Central Industrial Region, Baku, Tiflis, Kiev, Yekaterinoslav, Nikolaev, Kazan, Saratov, Vilna and Dvinsk, including 10 workers. 12 of them were Bolsheviks, two were Menshevik Party members (Plekhanovites).

Some delegates did not participate in the conference from the very beginning. Thus, the Moscow delegate R.V. Malinovsky arrived when it was drawing to a close. Before that, Malinovsky was a non-factional Social Democrat and only in Prague announced that he had become a Bolshevik. There were no more trade union officials as well-known as Malinowski. Two Bolshevik deputies from the Social Democratic faction of the III State Duma N.G. Poletaev and V.E. Shurkanov

All national organizations and other party groups, as well as personally invited G.V. Plekhanov and M. Gorky declined invitations to the conference on the grounds that only Lenin's supporters were calling it. Nevertheless, the conference was constituted as a general party conference of the RSDLP, which is the supreme body of the party and has the significance of the congress. Plekhanovite Ya.D. objected to the constitution of the conference as an all-Russian and general party conference. Zevin, who proposed to call it "Conference of representatives of Russian organizations." The conference rejected this proposal. Zevin's proposal was also rejected to urgently convene a conference of representatives of all social democratic trends, which would take measures to replenish the number of delegates so that the conference would become an all-party conference.

In total, 23 meetings were held, the delegates gathered twice a day. The conference was held under the leadership and chairmanship of V.I. Lenin. He also made a report "On the present moment and the tasks of the party", on the constitution of the conference, on the International Socialist Bureau and on other issues. The draft resolutions and resolutions adopted by the conference were drawn up by Lenin.

In the resolution on the question "On the present moment and the tasks of the party" the conference indicated that "the task of conquering power by the proletariat, leading the peasantry, remains as before the task of a democratic revolution in Russia."

The Prague conference outlined the party's tactics for the elections to the fourth State Duma. The party put forward the main electoral slogans: democratic republic, 8-hour working day, confiscation of the landlord's land. The general tactical line of the party in the elections was as follows: a merciless war against the tsarist monarchy and the parties of landlords and capitalists, the steady exposure of counter-revolutionary views and false democracy of bourgeois liberals - with the party of the Cadets at their head, the disengagement of the party from all non-proletarian, petty-bourgeois parties.

In the resolution On the Tasks of Social Democracy in the Fight against Hunger, the conference noted that the Social Democracy must exert all its strength to expand propaganda and agitation among the broad masses of the population, and especially the peasantry; to explain the connection between hunger and tsarism and its entire policy, to spread the political demands of social democracy: the overthrow of the tsarist monarchy, the establishment of a democratic republic, the confiscation of the landlords' land; to support the striving of the workers to help the hungry, to direct the democratic excitement about the famine towards demonstrations, rallies, mass meetings and other forms of mass struggle against tsarism.

In a resolution on the attitude to the Duma bill on state insurance of workers, the conference outlined a program of demands that workers should put forward in the struggle for state insurance under capitalism, proposed to launch widespread agitation against the Duma bill, which violates the interests of the working class, and if the law is passed, to deploy it in hospital vigorous propaganda of social democratic ideas and "thus turn this law, conceived for the purpose of enslaving and oppressing the proletariat, into an instrument for developing its class consciousness, strengthening its organization, strengthening its struggle for complete political freedom and socialism."

The conference discussed the question "On liquidationism and the group of liquidators." In a resolution on this issue, the conference noted that for about 4 years the RSDLP had been waging a decisive struggle against the liquidationist trend, which at the December 1908 conference was defined as "attempts by a certain part of the party intelligentsia to liquidate the existing organization of the RSDLP and replace it with a formless association within the framework of legality. be that as it may, at least the latter was bought at the cost of a clear rejection of the party's program, tactics, and traditions. " "The conference," the resolution says, "calls on all party members, without distinction of trends and shades, to fight liquidationism, to explain all its harm to the cause of the emancipation of the working class and to exert all efforts to restore and strengthen the illegal RSDLP."

In the resolution "On the Attack of the Russian Government on Persia," the conference protests against the predatory policy of the tsarist gang, which decided to strangle the freedom of the Persian people, and expresses its full sympathy for the struggle of the Persian Social Democracy, which suffered so many victims in the struggle against the tsarist rapists.



In the resolution "On the Chinese Revolution," the Prague Conference of the RSDLP notes "... the world significance of the revolutionary struggle of the Chinese people, bringing the liberation of Asia and undermining the rule of the European bourgeoisie, welcomes the revolutionary republicans of China, testifies to the deep inspiration and full sympathy with which the proletariat of Russia is following the successes the revolutionary people in China and condemns the behavior of Russian liberalism, which supports the policy of conquest of tsarism. "

In the resolution "On the policy of tsarism towards Finland," the conference expressed its complete solidarity with the fraternal Finnish Social-Democrats. party, emphasized the unity of the tasks of the workers of Finland and Russia in the struggle against the Russian counterrevolutionary government and the counterrevolutionary bourgeoisie, trampling on the rights of the people, and expressed her firm belief that only "... by the joint efforts of the workers of Russia and Finland can the overthrow of tsarism and freedom of the Russian and Finnish peoples be achieved ".

The Prague Conference of the RSDLP sent greetings to the fraternal German Social Democracy, which in January 1912 won a "brilliant victory over the entire bourgeois world" in the elections to the Reichstag.

The Prague Conference canceled the decision of the January Plenum of the Central Committee (1910) to support the newspaper L.D. Trotsky's Pravda, published in Vienna.

The Central Committee of the RSDLP, elected at the Fifth Congress, virtually ceased to exist by 1912 (its last plenum was held in January 1910) and the party found itself without an official governing center. The conference elected the Bolshevik Central Committee of the Party, which included F.I.

Goloshchekin, G.E. Zinoviev and V.I. Lenin, R.V. Malinovsky (since 1910 - a secret officer of the Moscow Security Department, since 1912 - the Police Department; deputy of the IV State Duma), G.K. Ordzhonikidze, S.S. Spandaryan, D.M. Schwartzman. The Central Committee was granted the right to co-opt new members by a simple majority vote. During the days of the conference, I.S. Belostotsky and I.V. Stalin, and later G.I. Petrovsky and Ya.M. Sverdlov.

In the event that any of the members of the Central Committee were arrested, A.S. Bubnov, M.I. Kalinin, A.P. Smirnov, E. D. Stasova, S.G. Shaumyan. For the practical guidance of party work in Russia, the Russian Bureau of the Central Committee of the RSDLP (which ceased to exist in March 1911, after the arrest of Nogin and Leiteisen) was recreated. It included those elected at the conference and later co-opted by I.S. Belostotsky, F.I. Goloshchekin, R.V. Malinovsky, G.K. Ordzhonikidze, G.I. Petrovsky, Ya.M. Sverdlov, S.S. Spandaryan, I. V. Stalin, D.M. Shvartsman, A.E. Badaev, M.I. Kalinin, A.S. Kiselev, E. D. Stasova, A.V. Shotman. The representative of the RSDLP in the International Socialist Bureau was elected V.I. Lenin. It included those elected at the conference and later co-opted by I.S. Belostotsky, F.I. Goloshchekin, R.V. Malinovsky, G.K. Ordzhonikidze, G.I. Petrovsky, Ya.M. Sverdlov, S.S. Spandaryan, I. V. Stalin, D.M. Shvartsman, A.E. Badaev, M.I. Kalinin, A.S. Kiselev, E. D. Stasova, A.V. Shotman. The representative of the RSDLP in the International Socialist Bureau was elected V.I. Lenin. It included those elected at the conference and later co-opted by I.S. Belostotsky, F.I. Goloshchekin, R.V. Malinovsky, G.K. Ordzhonikidze, G.I. Petrovsky, Ya.M. Sverdlov, S.S. Spandaryan, I. V. Stalin, D.M. Shvartsman, A.E. Badaev, M.I. Kalinin, A.S. Kiselev, E. D. Stasova, A.V. Shotman. The representative of the RSDLP in the International Socialist Bureau was elected V.I. Lenin.

The conference, at which representatives of all the national organizations and other party groups that were part of the party were absent, except for the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks-party members, declared itself, at Lenin's insistence, the general party, and the supreme organ of the party. In fact, in Prague, as G.E. Zinoviev, "a real Bolshevik congress", whereas "without Lenin this would have been an ordinary meeting of relatively young Bolshevik practitioners."

After the conference in Prague became known and its resolutions were promulgated in February 1912, the idea of convening another party conference was supported by the "Vperyodists", Menshevik Party members and Bolshevik conciliators, who did not want to recognize the conference of some of Lenin's supporters as an all-party conference. Together with other participants convened on March 12 (February 28) 1912 in Paris on the initiative of the Trotsky conference, they condemned the Prague conference as a factional one. The conference convened by them was held in Vienna from August 26 (13) to September 2 (August 20) 1912. A total of 16 sessions took place, not counting two not recorded, which took place the day before the official opening. According to the minutes, 18 delegates with a casting vote and 11 with an advisory vote, as well as 5 guests with an advisory vote, attended the meetings. According to police reports, there were also guests without the right to participate in debates - up to 7 people. Of the 29 delegates, 12 represented three national organizations, 9 - other organizations in Russia, and three mandates from Russia were transferred to social democrats who lived in exile, all in all 11 delegates were "foreigners". 2 delegates represented the organizing committee.

Just as in Prague, none of the members of the Duma faction of the party came to Vienna. Thus, there were more "foreigners" than delegates from the Russian provinces. Some delegates

were unable to travel to Vienna due to arrests. The refusal to send delegates was also motivated by the fact that "an accidentally pulled conference with delegates of non-existent organizations never gave the desired results." As a result of all this, the conference considered it possible to be constituted only as a "conference of organizations of the RSDLP" - something between the original idea of the All-Russian conference and the requirement of G.A. Aleksinsky (who represented the Vperyod group at the conference in Vienna), so that the audience would declare themselves a meeting.

According to estimates published after the Vienna Conference, its delegates included 10 Mensheviks (5 with a casting vote and 5 with an advisory vote), 4 Party Bolsheviks (3 and 1), 2 Party Mensheviks (1 and 1) and 17 non-factional Social Democrats. (9 and 8), they included, in particular, all Bundists and Latvians. In addition, 4 representatives of the PPP and 1 representative of the Lithuanian Social Democratic Party had the status of guests with an advisory vote. Compared with the Prague Conference, the composition of those gathered in Vienna was clearly more diverse in the party-factional relation. At the same time, there were fewer workers here than intellectuals, and there was also less representation of Russian illegal organizations.

The Vienna Conference declared that there was no ground for a split in the RSDLP, that it was only necessary to realize the harm inflicted on the cause of the proletariat by the long-term party crisis; the constant advancement of the unifying tasks of the class struggle of the proletariat will lead to the complete unification of party forces, while the resolution of the Prague Conference emphasized that the condition for party unity is a break with liquidationism and its "final overcoming", that is, victory over it.

Comparing the resolutions of both conferences, it is easy to see that they were based on fundamentally different assessments

of the situation in the country. The Bolshevik assessment was more definite, the Menshevik one more vague. In the resolution of the Prague conference "On the present moment and the tasks of the party", adopted on the basis of Lenin's report, the analysis of the political and economic situation ended with the conclusion about "the growing revolutionary mood of the masses against the regime of June 3". Later, Lenin regarded the mass movement of protest against the shooting of workers in the Lena mines as the beginning of a new revolutionary upsurge.

The Vienna Conference did not adopt a special resolution on the situation in the country. Both conferences, with all the differences between them, focused the Social Democrats primarily on active participation in the election campaign for the elections to the IV State Duma. The Prague Conference devoted two resolutions to this topic. Vienna - three. The documents of both conferences featured the demands of a democratic republic, an 8-hour working day, the elimination of landlord ownership and the demands arising from them: universal suffrage, freedom of coalitions, state insurance of workers, etc.

A comparative analysis of the resolutions confirms that the conflict in the RSDLP was a conflict between two revolutionary currents, between more radical revolutionaries - Bolsheviks - and more moderate - Mensheviks, moreover, Mensheviks moderate by Russian standards were more radical than the leaders of most parties of the Second International.

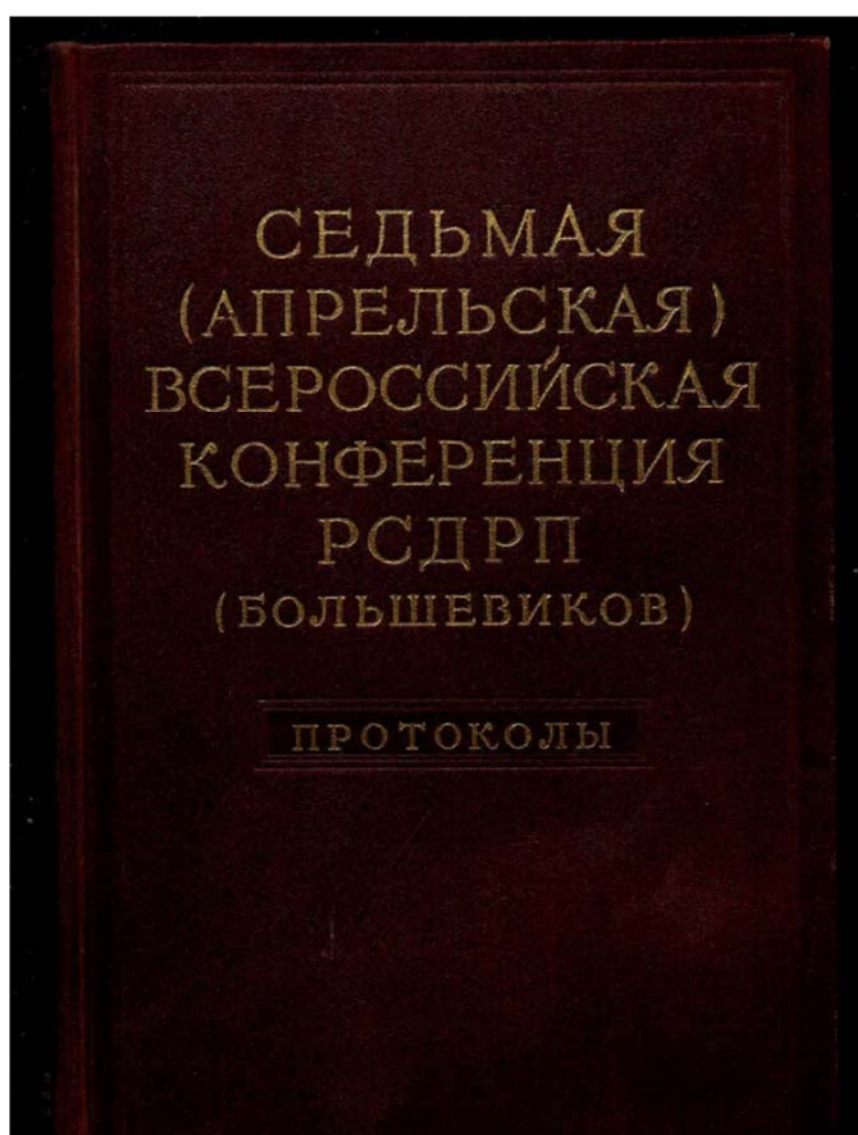
As a result of the Prague Conference, the main goal pursued by Lenin - the creation of an independent party - was achieved.

The Vienna Conference failed to restore the organizational unity of the RSDLP, especially since many of its participants did not hope for this. The main result of the conference was the

strengthening of the consolidation of Menshevism. This result was the merit of Martov, who at that time already saw in Bolshevism, even conciliatory, a great danger to the workers' movement in Russia.

On the eve of the First World War, judging by the known data on the material support of legal Social Democratic newspapers by collective gatherings, the Bolsheviks had a clear and growing advantage over the Mensheviks. In the end, the Bolsheviks were better prepared for the extraordinary situation of 1917, created by the war and the fall of the monarchy, primarily by the fact that they built a rigidly centralized party focused on seizing power and establishing their dictatorship on behalf of the proletariat. In March 1917, Lenin first called it a new type of party.

In total, 23 meetings were held, the delegates gathered twice a day. The conference was held under the leadership and chairmanship of V.I. Lenin. He also made a report "On the present day and the tasks of the party", on the constitution of the conference, on the International Socialist Bureau and on other issues. The draft resolutions and resolutions adopted by the conference were drawn up by Lenin.



Seventh (April) All-Russian Conference of the RSDLP (Bolsheviks). Petrograd City Conference of the RSDLP (Bolsheviks)

**Seventh (April) All-Russian Conference of the RSDLP (Bolsheviks); Petrograd city-wide conference of the RSDLP (Bolsheviks). April 1917.**

The minutes of the VII (April) All-Russian Conference of the RSDLP (b) are one of the most important sources for studying the activities of the Communist Party during the preparation and implementation of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The Protocols of the VII (April) All-Russian and Petrograd City Conferences of the RSDLP (b) were first published by the Istpart of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) in 1925. and republished by the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute under the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) in 1934.

The Seventh (April) All-Russian Conference of the RSDLP (B), the first legal conference of the Bolshevik Party, was held in Petrograd on April 24-29 (May 7-12) 1917. There were 133 delegates with a decisive vote and 18 with an advisory vote, representing up to 80 thousand members parties from 78 large party organizations. On the eve of the conference, an internal party discussion on the April Theses of V.I. Lenin, who charted the party's course for a socialist revolution.

The work of the conference was directed by Lenin, who made reports more than 20 times in debates, wrote almost all draft resolutions.

In his report on the current situation, Lenin comprehensively substantiated the political course of the party for the preparation and implementation of the socialist revolution. A co-report was made by L.B. Kamenev, who tried to prove that the bourgeois-democratic revolution was allegedly not over and that Russia was not ripe for a socialist revolution. He was supported by A.I. Rykov, who argued that in Russia there are no objective conditions for the victory of the socialist revolution, that socialism must come from the West. The



conference rejected Kamenev's point of view and adopted a Leninist resolution. It stated that the proletariat of Russia should lead the revolution and explain to the people the urgency of solving a number of issues: nationalization of the land, the establishment of state control over all banks with their unification into a single central bank, establishing control over insurance institutions and the largest syndicates of capitalists. The Conference declared that these measures, as well as universal labor service, could be implemented by the Soviets as soon as they become organs of the people's power.

The resolution of the conference "On Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies" substantiated the slogan "All Power to the Soviets!" and the task of the party to strengthen and expand its influence in them. Under the conditions of the dual power formed in the country, the conference put forward a course for the peaceful development of the revolution, for the conquest of power by the Soviets both in the center and in the localities.

The resolution "On the attitude towards the Provisional Government" noted that long-term work should be carried out to clarify the class consciousness and rally the proletarians of town and country, a break with the policy of trust in the Provisional Government, the organization and arming of the proletariat, strengthening its ties with the army as the most important condition ensuring a peaceful transfer of power to the Soviets.

In the resolution "On War", the conference emphasized that the imperialist war can be ended only by transferring state power to the Soviets, which will take the matter of concluding peace into their own hands, that the Bolshevik Party does not support either an imperialist war or the Provisional Bourgeois Government, which carried out the previous the policy of tsarism. The conference dissociated itself from the so-called

revolutionary defencism, identifying it as one of the main obstacles on the way to a quick end to the war.

In a report on the agrarian question, Lenin substantiated the demands for the confiscation of the landowners' lands and the nationalization of all the land. The implementation of these measures would not only liquidate the landlord class, but also deal a blow to the bourgeoisie, since most of the landlord's lands were laid down in banks. The party advised the peasants to take land immediately and in an orderly manner, without waiting for the Constituent Assembly, despite the suggestions of the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks.

Stalin's report and the resolution of the conference on the national question consolidated and developed the party's programmatic demands for complete equality of all nations and languages. The counter-rapporteur was G.L. Pyatakov, who proposed considering the national question on the basis that the victory of the socialist revolution is supposedly possible only simultaneously in the whole world or in most countries; therefore, from an economic and economic point of view, the independence of nations is an antiquated and obsolete phenomenon. In this regard, he suggested waging the struggle for socialism under the slogan "Get out of the border!" F.E. Dzerzhinsky and F.I. Makharadze believed that the demand for the right of nations to self-determination is contrary to internationalism. The conference adopted a Leninist resolution on the national question. It said that for all the nations that are part of Russia, the right to free separation and formation of an independent state must be recognized. At the same time, the conference pointed out that it is impermissible to confuse this right with the expediency of secession of this or that nation at one time or another.

The conference decided that unification with parties and groups that stand on the positions of "revolutionary defencism"

is impossible, emphasizing the need for rapprochement and unification with groups and trends that actually stand on the basis of internationalism and decisively break with the policy of a bloc with the bourgeoisie.

The conference adopted Lenin's resolution on revising the program, which determined in which direction the program should be developed; instructed the Central Committee to draw up a draft of a new program and submit it for approval to the party congress.

When deciding on the "Situation in the International ..." the delegates of the conference agreed with Zinoviev's proposal to remain in the Zimmerwald Association and participate in the conference of its supporters. Lenin voted against this decision.

At the conference he was elected by secret ballot of the Central Committee of 9 people (Lenin, Zinoviev, Stalin, Kamenev, Milyutin, Nogin, Sverdlov, Smilga, Fedorov).

The conference, in terms of the completeness of its representation, in the importance of the tasks it solved, played the role of a party congress. She outlined the party's course for the development of the bourgeois-democratic revolution into a socialist one.

Petrograd city conference of the RSDLP (b),

took place on April 14-22 (April 27 - May 5) 1917, on the eve of the All-Russian conference. The work of the citywide conference was based on Lenin's April theses of V.I. Lenin.

At the Petrograd conference, V.I. Lenin delivered a report on the current situation, in which he outlined the tasks of the party in the revolution. Lenin prepared draft resolutions on the attitude towards the Provisional Government, on the communal issue, on the attitude towards the Socialist-

Revolutionary and Menshevik parties, as well as a draft resolution on the war.

Against the course for a socialist revolution outlined by V.I. Lenin, Kamenev spoke at the conference. Justifying the need to strengthen the alliance of the proletariat and the poorest part of the peasantry as the most important condition for the victory of the revolution, V.I. Lenin condemned attempts to oppose the interests of the working class and the peasant poor. "Trotskyism - Without a tsar, but a workers' government. " This is not true, Lenin pointed out at the conference. - There is a petty bourgeoisie, it cannot be thrown out. But it has two parts. The poorest part of it goes with the working class. "

The Petrograd city-wide conference of the RSDLP (b) adopted the outlined V.I. Lenin's plan of struggle for the socialist revolution.

In the texts of the documents of both conferences, the Bolshevik party is everywhere and everywhere referred to as the RSDLP, but in the printed text of the book, including in the titles of party documents given by the editors, the party is called exclusively RSDLP (b).

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# АРХИВ ОК Т Я Б Р Ъ С К О Й Р Е В О Л Ю Ц И И

1917 г.

**В ДОКУМЕНТАХ И МАТЕРИАЛАХ**  
ПОД ОБЩЕЙ РЕДАКЦИЕЙ  
М. Ф. ВЛАДИМИРСКОГО, А. С. ЕНУКИДЗЕ  
М. И. ПОКРОВСКОГО и Я. А. ЯКОВЛЕВА

## П Е Р В Ы Й В С Е Р О С С И Й С К И Й С Ъ Е З Д С О В Е Т О В



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ГОСУДАРСТВЕННОЕ ИЗДАТЕЛЬСТВО

## **First All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers 'and Soldiers' Deputies, June 16 – July 7, 1917**

First All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers 'and Soldiers' opened on June 3, 1917 and was attended by some 1,090 delegates (784 with full vote) from 53 regional/provincial soviets (106 deputies), 305 local soviets (610 deputies), and 34 military organisations (68 delegates).

285 Socialist-Revolutionary (20 sympathetic to this party), 248 Mensheviks (8 sympathetic), 105 Bolsheviks, 111 Various other small parties (presumably 7 delegates did not answer)

The Congress debated and voted on political, social, and economic policies that would shape revolutionary Russia. The majority of these debates focused on the Soviet relations with the Provisional Government and Russia's participation in the World War. The decisions of the Congress also Motivated the worker and soldier demonstration of June 18th, which explicitly indicated the public frustration with the Provisional Government and would prove to be an important event for the Bolshevik party. The First Congress was important to the revolution because it provided legitimacy to the socialist movement and provided an arena of debate between the Socialist-Revolutionaries, Mensheviks, and Bolsheviks.

Lenin made his speech "On the Attitude Towards the Provisional Government", June 4, "On the War", June 9.

The first main issue of the Congress was whether or not to continue support of the Provisional Government. The debate of this issue reflected in the speeches of leading Menshevik and Provisional Government Minister of Post and Telegraphs, I. Tsereteli, leading Bolshevik, Vladimir Lenin, and congress member and Provisional Government Minister of War, Alexander Kerensky.

Tsereteli emphasized the importance of creating and maintaining a central body capable of regulating the internal economy and organizing the country to concentrate resources to win the war. He said that there was no party ready to seize power. Lenin referring to the Bolsheviks shouted from the audience "It does exist!". Tsereteli concluded that it is time for the country to stand strong, support the Provisional Government and "put an end to experiments dangerous for the fate of the revolution... that may lead to civil war."

Lenin then asserted that continuation of the Dual Power would only create more issues than it would solve:

"The Soviets are an institution which does not exist in any ordinary bourgeois---parliamentary state and cannot exist side by side with a bourgeois government. They are the new, more democratic type of state which we in our Party resolutions call a peasant---proletarian democratic republic, with power belonging solely to the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies. People are wrong in thinking that this is a theoretical issue. They are wrong in pretending that it can be evaded and in protesting that at present certain institutions exist side by side with the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies. Yes, they do exist side by side. But this is what breeds countless misunderstandings, conflicts and friction."

Kerensky warned the Bolsheviks that their desire to resolve "economic problems purely by political means" would result in the "victory of force over democracy.... You Bolsheviks recommend childish prescriptions – 'arrest, kill, destroy.' What are you – socialists or the police of the old regime? (Uproar. Lenin: 'You should call him order') ... You [Bolsheviks] recommend that we follow the road of the French Revolution of 1792. You recommend the way of further disorganization of

the country... When you in alliance with reaction, shall destroy our power, then you will have a real dictator. It is our duty, the duty of the Russian democracy to say: Don't repeat the historic mistakes. You are asked to follow the road that was once followed by France, and that will lead Russia to a new reaction, to a new shedding of democratic blood.."

The Congress ultimately voted to support the Provisional Government with 543 to 126 (52 abstentions).

The second main issue was the war. Russia was engaged in the world war, under constant attacks on the Western front by German forces. The Provisional Government, Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks were for the continuation of the war, while Bolsheviks and other Left---wing parties were for the stopping of the "Imperialistic war" and leaving the Entente. The Congress sided with the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks, and opted to continue fighting.

Bolsheviks proceeded to secretly plan a massive demonstration for June 10th in order to pressure Soviet leaders into protesting against the Congress's support of the Provisional Government. However, the secret plan was leaked to non-Bolshevik leaders of the Congress who on June 9th called for an immediate ban on political demonstrations for the next three days, claiming that any political demonstrations would disrupt the proceedings of the Congress. The Bolsheviks submitted to the ban, cancelling the demonstration. Lenin said that the reason why the demonstration could be canceled at such short notice was to be attributed to the loyalty of the demonstrators, comprised of workers and soldiers, to the Bolsheviks.

The Bolsheviks failed in the Congress, but on the streets, the demonstrations of June 18th showed that the workers stood behind Bolsheviks.



ШЕСТОЙ СЪЕЗД  
РСДРП  
(БОЛЬШЕВИКОВ)  
ПРОТОКОЛЫ

## Sixth Congress of the RSDLP (B). AUGUST 1917.

Protocols. - Moscow: Gospolitizdat, 1958. - Circulation 30,000 copies.

Congress of the RSDLP occupies a special place among the congresses of our party. It went down in the history of the party as "Unity". It formally united two parts of the party - the Bolshevik and the Menshevik, into which the Russian Social Democracy was split. At the congress, the Mensheviks gained a numerical superiority, and this determined the nature of the congress decisions on a number of issues of the first Russian revolution.

### INSTITUTE OF MARXISM-LENINISM

The minutes of the VI Congress of the RSDLP (b) are **one of the main sources for studying the activities of the CPSU during the preparation of the Great October Socialist Revolution.**

After the shooting of the peaceful July demonstration, state power in the country actually ended up in the hands of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie, which relied on the military clique. The bourgeoisie won a temporary victory over the revolutionary forces. The **dual power characteristic** of the first months of the revolution is over. The Soviets, with their Menshevist-Socialist-Revolutionary leadership "due to the fact that they did not take all state power into their own hands in time," turned into accomplices of the Provisional Government, which continued the imperialist policy of war and the elimination of political freedoms in the country. **"After July 4,"** wrote V.I. Lenin, "the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie, hand in hand with the monarchists and the Black Hundreds, annexed the petty-bourgeois Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks, partly intimidating them, and handed the actual state power into the hands of the Cavaignacs, into the hands of a military gang., shooting defenders at the front, crushing the Bolsheviks in St. Petersburg".

On July 7, the Provisional Government issued an order to arrest the leader of the Bolshevik Party, V.I. Lenin. The party was forced to move to a semi-legal position. V. I. Lenin took refuge in deep underground.

The new political situation in the country posed an urgent task for the party to develop **new tactics** that would ensure the implementation of the strategic plan adopted by the 7th (April) Conference, calculated for the victory of the socialist revolution.

While underground, VI Lenin wrote a number of articles that helped the party to correctly orient itself in the situation after the July days, to determine the forms of party work and ways of further struggle for the victory of the socialist revolution. In the articles "**Three Crises**", "**Political Situation**", "**On Slogans**" and others, V. I. Lenin gave a deep analysis of the alignment and correlation of class forces in the country and, on the basis of this, concluded that it was necessary a new course - towards an armed uprising. "**All hopes for the peaceful development of the Russian revolution have completely disappeared.** The objective situation: either the victory of the military dictatorship to the end, or the victory of the armed uprising of the workers, possible only if it coincides with a deep mass uprising against the government and against the bourgeoisie on the basis of economic devastation and dragging out the war," wrote V. I. Lenin in his article "Political position".

Lenin proposed to **temporarily remove** the slogan "**All power to the Soviets**" and put forward the slogan of a decisive struggle against counter-revolution, for the transfer of power into the hands of the proletariat and the poorest peasantry. At the same time, Lenin explained that the withdrawal of the slogan "All power to the Soviets" **does not at all mean that the party refuses to fight for the power of the Soviets**, that this is not a question of Soviets in general, but a question of combating this counter-revolution and the betrayal of these Soviets.

Considering the Soviets as the greatest achievement of the Russian revolution, as the most expedient form of the revolutionary organization of the masses in their struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat, V.I. stated; "Soviets can and must appear in this new revolution, but not the present Soviets, not organs of compromise with the bourgeoisie, but organs of the revolutionary struggle against it. That even then we will be in favor of building the entire state according to the type of Soviets, it is so".

In the articles of V. I. Lenin, the **main provisions** of the party policy adopted by the VI Congress **were determined**.

An enormous role in the direction of the work of the congress was played by Lenin's article "**On Slogans**", which was published as a separate brochure during the congress and was adopted by the delegates of the congress as a guideline defining the line of the party's activities at this stage of the revolution. In addition, V.I. **Lenin wrote specifically for the congress theses** on the political situation, which **have not yet been found**.

The VI Congress of the RSDLP (b) was held on July 26 (August 8) - August 3 (16), 1917 in Petrograd. The congress conducted its work semi-legally. The press announced only the convocation of the congress but did not indicate the place of its meetings. The threat of closing the congress from the side of the Provisional Government was so real that it was necessary not only to change the place of the congress meetings, but also to hold elections for members of the Central Committee long before its end, and also to shorten the duration of the congress.

The **congress was attended by 157 delegates** with a casting vote and a PO with a consultative vote, **representing 162 party organizations**. By the time of the congress, the parties numbered **240,000 members**. The ideological leadership of the entire work of the congress was carried out by V.I. Lenin through his students and associates: I.V. Stalin, Y. M. Sverdlov, G.K. Ordzhonikidze, and others.

One of the first at the congress to discuss was **the question of VI Lenin's appearance for trial by the counter-revolutionary Provisional Government**. The congress spoke out against Lenin's appearance for trial, believing that it would not be a trial, but a reprisal against the leader of the party. The congress protested against the bourgeois police persecution of the leader of the revolution and sent greetings to V.I., Lenin.

The main issues that determined the direction of the entire work of the congress were: the political report of the Central Committee and

the report on the political situation, which **JV Stalin delivered on behalf of the Central Committee.**

The reports of the Central Committee set forth the guidelines of VI Lenin, summarize the activities of the Bolshevik Party since the 7th (April) Conference, and summarize the experience of the Party's work in the struggle for the masses. They **contain a Leninist assessment of the political situation in the country** after the July events, a deep analysis of the alignment of class forces within the country and in the world arena and outlined prospects for the further development of the revolution. The reports of the Central Committee set forth the political line of the party at the new stage of the revolution, charted a course for an armed uprising.

Following Lenin's instructions, the Sixth Congress **withdrew the slogan "All Power to the Soviets"** and gave a resolute rebuff both to those who opposed the withdrawal of the slogan "All Power to the Soviets" and to those who regarded the temporary withdrawal of this slogan as the party's refusal to fight for it in general. The congress put forward the slogan of the struggle **for the complete liquidation of the dictatorship** of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie and the conquest of power by the proletariat in alliance with the poorest peasantry **through an armed uprising.**

The congress gave a decisive rebuff to the opportunist elements who opposed the party's course towards a socialist revolution, **who considered the victory of socialism in Russia impossible.** The congress unanimously rejected the anti-Leninist, **essentially Trotskyist line of Preobrazhensky**, who proposed in the resolution on the political situation to indicate that our country could be directed along the socialist path only if there is a proletarian revolution in the West. The **anti-Leninist point of view of Bukharin was also exposed**, who argued that the peasantry was defencist, that it was in a bloc with the bourgeoisie and would not follow the working class. Denying the alliance of the working class and the poorest peasantry in the socialist revolution, **Preobrazhensky and Bukharin opposed the Leninist theory** of the possibility of the victory of socialism initially in a few or even one, separately taken, capitalist country in the era of

imperialism, did not believe in the strength of the proletariat, in its ability to lead the peasantry along the socialist path.

In its decisions, the congress emphasized with special force the Leninist thesis on the **alliance of the working class and the poorest peasantry** as the main condition for the victory of the socialist revolution. The congress expressed confidence that the inevitable new upsurge of the Russian revolution would put the workers and the poorest peasants in power before the socialist revolution in the capitalist countries of the West.

The VI Congress discussed and approved the economic platform of the Party, in which the provisions set forth in the April Theses of V.I. Lenin and in the decisions of the VII (April) Conference on Economic Issues were developed. The main points of the platform: **the establishment of workers' control over production and distribution**, the nationalization and centralization of banks, the nationalization of large-scale syndicated industry, the confiscation of landowners' land and the nationalization of all land, the organization of a correct exchange between town and country. The Congress resolution on the economic situation emphasized that the implementation of this platform **presupposes the transfer of state power** into the hands of the working class.

The temporary victory of the counter-revolution after the July days not only did not retard the growth of the party but caused an influx of new members into the party from among the workers and peasants. Y. M. Sverdlov in his report on the organizational activities of the Central Committee noted that since the 7th (April) conference the number of party members has increased threefold, and the number of organizations more than doubled. **Party organizations grew especially rapidly in industrial centers.** The Petrograd organization from April to July increased from 16 thousand to 36 thousand members, the Moscow city - from 7 to 15 thousand, the Central Industrial Region by the VI Congress had more than 50 thousand party members, the Urals - 25 thousand, the Donetsk Basin - 16 thousand members. **By the Sixth Congress, the party was a truly mass workers' party.**

Reports from the field occupied an important place at the congress. A total of 19 reports were heard, **5 of them from military** organizations. The speakers noted the steady growth of the influence of the Bolsheviks among the workers, soldiers, and peasants. In the reports of the military organizations of Moscow, Kronstadt, Helsingfors, the Riga and Romanian fronts, it was noted that the influence of Bolshevik organizations among soldiers and sailors was growing. The military organization of the party from April to July grew from 6 to 26 thousand party members. Reports from the field testified to the tremendous work of the **Bolsheviks among the masses to create a political army of the socialist revolution.**

The Bolshevik press played an important role in strengthening the Party's influence among the masses. From the questionnaire on the party press given at the 6th Congress, it is clear that by the day of the congress the party had 41 publications with a total daily **circulation of 235,000 copies**, not counting Pravda, which was published daily with an average circulation of 85,000 copies. Out of 41 printed organs, 14 were published in the national languages of the peoples of Russia: Latvian, Lithuanian, Estonian, Azerbaijani, Armenian, Georgian, etc.

At the congress, great attention was paid to the **work of the party in the trade unions**. The congress condemned the Menshevik theory of the **neutrality** of the trade unions, clearly and clearly defined their tasks in the new political conditions as militant organizations of the working class. The congress called on all party members to join the trade unions and take an active part in their work.

The Sixth Congress comprehensively discussed the question of the leadership of the Bolshevik Party **in unions of working youth**. By the opening of the congress, socialist unions of working youth were created in many large centers: in Petrograd, Moscow, Riga, and other industrial cities. The congress pointed out the need for party leadership of youth unions and their transformation into socialist organizations: "At the present time, when the struggle of the working class is passing into the phase of **direct struggle for socialism**, the congress considers the promotion of the creation of class socialist organizations of working youth one of the urgent tasks of the moment and imposes Party organizations are obliged to pay maximum

attention to this work ", - written in the resolution on youth unions, adopted by the VI Congress. In a special decision "On courses for instructors," the congress instructed the Central Committee of the Party to create courses for instructors on the organization and leadership of socialist youth unions.

The congress adopted a new party charter. Paragraph 1 of the Charter on membership was supplemented by the **requirement that party members be subordinate to all party regulations**; for the first time were established: the recommendation of two-party members when accepting new members and their approval by the general meeting of the party organization and the regular payment of membership fees in the amount of 1% of the received wages. The new Party Rules demanded a restructuring of all party work from top to bottom on the basis of the Leninist principle of democratic centralism.

The 6th Congress **adopted a resolution "On Propaganda"**, which indicated the need to strengthen the party's agitational and propaganda work among the masses, to organize party schools to train propagandists from among the proletarian intelligentsia and to publish popular science literature.

On the question of **uniting the party**, the Sixth Congress, following Lenin's instructions, set before the party the task of rallying around itself all **the truly internationalist elements of Social Democracy, ready to decisively break with the defencists**. The congress condemned all proposals for broad unification and the creation of a single Social Democratic Party. At the VI Congress, **the Mezhraintsy were admitted to the party**, who declared a complete break with the defencists, and **their agreement with the Bolshevik line**.

The congress defined the tasks and tactics of the party in the election campaign for the Constituent Assembly. The congress indicated that, with the approval of the Central Committee, electoral blocs with internationalist elements that broke with the defencists, as well as with non-party revolutionary organizations (with the Soviets of Deputies, with land committees, etc.), which fully adopted the Bolshevik platform, are permissible in the elections to the Constituent Assembly.



The congress elected a Central Committee headed by V. I. Lenin.

The Sixth Congress **directed the party towards an armed uprising**, towards a socialist revolution. All decisions of the congress were aimed at preparing the working class and the poorest peasantry for an armed uprising against the dictatorship of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie.

The congress instructed the newly elected Central Committee to develop and issue, on behalf of the VI Congress of the party, a "Manifesto of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party to all working people, to all workers, soldiers and peasants of Russia." The manifesto called on workers, soldiers, and peasants to stubbornly prepare for decisive battles against the bourgeoisie for the victory of the socialist revolution. "Get ready for new battles, our comrades in arms! Steadfastly, courageously, and calmly, not succumbing to provocation, save up your strength, line up in battle columns! Under the banner of the party, proletarians, and soldiers! Under our banner, oppressed villages! "- said in the concluding part of the Manifesto.

This edition of **the minutes of the VI Congress of the RSDLP (b) is based on the printed text of the first edition** of the minutes published by the Kommunist publishing house in 1919. The minutes of the congress were reissued in 1927 by the Istpart of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party) and in 1934 by the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute at the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party (b).

**The sessions of the Congress were not recorded in shorthand.** The speeches at the congress were **recorded** by a group of Petrograd party workers. After the congress, all the notes were compiled into one manuscript, which was **published in 1919. The manuscript has not been found to date.**

The text of the minutes of this publication is compared with the reports on the work of the VI Congress, published in the newspapers Rabochy and Soldier, Proletary and Sotsial-Democrat for July-August 1917. In addition, **a record of the VI Congress delegate K-A. Kozlov was used**, kept in the Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism under the Central Committee of the CPSU.

Obvious typos in the text of the protocols were corrected without reservations. All clarifications of the text, its additions are given in footnotes indicating the sources on the basis of which they were introduced.

In this edition, the dates in the text of the minutes are in the old style as in the first edition of the minutes. Dual style is given in editorial text only.

JV Stalin's reports — a report on the political work of the Central Committee and a report on the political situation — are given in the text of the minutes. But in view of the obvious insufficiency and brevity of the presentation of the text of the reports in the minutes, in this edition in the section "Materials of the Congress" there are **official reports on the reports of I. V. Stalin, published in July - August 1917** in the newspapers "Worker and Soldier" No. 14 and Proletary No. 3, **covering individual passages of the reports more accurately and fully.**

The present edition of the minutes **has been supplemented with new materials** related to the congress. In the section "Materials of the Congress" **for the first time** there are greetings to the Congress that were not included in the text of the minutes. The list of delegates in this section has been significantly **expanded and corrected in comparison** with the list in previous editions. In addition, 82 people were added to the list of delegates with an advisory vote, a list of congress participants was given, among whom, possibly, in addition to delegates and a person with guest tickets, and a list of delegates elected by organizations, but who did not arrive at the congress for various reasons that did not depend on them, circumstances. Several corrections and clarifications have been made to the list of voting delegates. All these corrections and clarifications were made on the basis of a study of documentary materials, as well as reports **from local party archives** and personal confirmation of delegates to the congress. Changes and additions to the lists of delegates are specified in the footnotes.

The section "**Appendices**" **contains for the first time published 69 questionnaires of the Central Committee** (questionnaires) filled in

by the delegates of the Congress. These documents contain valuable factual material on the state and activity of party organizations in the localities by the time of the VI Congress. **The originals** of the questionnaires are kept in the Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism under the Central Committee of the CPSU.

Decoding of individual words in the text of the protocols and in documents and modern spelling are given without reservations. The words included in the text by the editors are in brackets.

This edition of the minutes of the VI Congress of the RSDLP (b) is supplied with a reference apparatus consisting of notes to the text and indexes of the names mentioned in the text, party organizations, periodicals and literary works and sources.

The publication has been prepared for publication by S. I. Shchegoleva. Assistant to the preparatory teacher: T. G. Breneisen, K. N. Uryvaeva and L. D. Raimbekova. Editors - G. D. Obichkin and M. D. Stuchebnikova.

Institute of Marxism-Leninism under the Central Committee of the CPSU

Р.С.Ф.С.Р. Съезд Советов

35

Р.С.Ф.С.Р. (1)

# ДЕКРЕТЫ и ДЕКЛАРАЦИИ

2-го Всеросс. Съезда  
СОВѢТОВЪ РАБ., СОЛД. и КРЕСТЬЯНСКИХЪ ДЕП.  
и Совѣта Народныхъ Комиссаровъ.

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СБОРНИКЪ ПЕРВЫЙ

(за Октябрь, Ноябрь и по 12 Декабря 1917 года).

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ПЕТРОГРАДЪ

Издание Отдѣла Мѣстнаго Управленія Комиссаріата Внутреннихъ Дѣлъ.

1917 г.

## **Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers 'and Soldiers' Deputies October 25-26, 1917**

On the night of October 26, the Military Revolutionary Committee of the Petrograd Soviet, overthrowing the government of the bourgeoisie, transferred power to the Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets. Delegates began to arrive in Petrograd as early as October 17-18, since the opening of the congress was originally scheduled for the 20th. The Socialist-Revolutionary Menshevik leaders of the Central Executive Committee deliberately chose hostels in different parts of the city in order to prevent the unification of delegates. The ruse, however, failed. Very quickly, all delegate hostels turned into lively political clubs. The delegates went to factories and regiments. The tense situation in the capital city dispelled the conciliatory illusions of some delegates who had arrived from the front or from a distant province. In the evenings in the hostels, delegates shared their impressions of a stormy day. Everywhere there were heated conversations and disputes, and most of the delegates, The Bolsheviks who did not formally adhere to the party, unanimously spoke out against the Provisional Government. Even non-party people were captured by the fighting mood that reigned in the capital and among the Bolshevik delegates.

175 delegates arrived in Petrograd before October 22, 1917, of which 102 were Bolsheviks and shared the Bolshevik point of view (see: Central Archive. Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets R. and S. D. - Moscow-Leningrad: Gosizdat, 1928. S. LIII; from the editor). Every day, representatives of the Central Committee of the Bolsheviks came to the hostel with a list in their hands. Bolshevik delegates were summoned and sent to the workers' districts of Petrograd.

Bolshevik delegates, on the instructions of the Central Committee, spoke at factory and regimental meetings. Several times a day the delegate of the North Caucasus S.M. Kirov made passionate speeches.

Y.Z. Erman reported on the growth of the revolution in Tsaritsyn. Bolshevik delegates brought instructions in which tens of thousands of proletarians in industrial regions demanded the transfer of power to the Soviets. Bolshevik soldiers said that rumors about the

impending revolution were being caught in the army. Kerensky's name was pronounced only with mockery and abuse. Ural, Donbass, Volga region, Ukraine, front - the whole country passed in front of the audience at stormy rallies. From the speeches of the Bolshevik delegates, the Petrograd workers were convinced that they were not alone, that they would be supported by the entire working class, by the entire peasant poor.

Of the 318 provincial Soviets represented at the II Congress, only 59 spoke in favor of "the power of democracy" and 18 passed half-hearted (partly for "the power of democracy", partly for the "power of the Soviets") decisions. The delegates of the 241 Soviet arrived at the congress with Bolshevik orders. 241 The Soviet unconditionally declared: "All power to the Soviets!" Such was the mood on the ground.

The fewer days remained before the opening of the congress, the more often the delegates gathered in Smolny.

Delegates from trenches, factories and villages came with worried, anxious faces. In the long, vaulted, dimly lit corridors, in the clouds of tobacco smoke, crowds of people were constantly moving, dark, oily jackets of workers, gray overcoats of soldiers and black ones - sailors, zipuns and Armenian peasants.

Delegations of workers 'districts and soldiers' regiments came to testify their devotion to the revolution and the opening Congress of Soviets.

All day on October 25, from early morning until late evening, factional meetings took place in the halls of Smolny. The most numerous faction of the congress was represented by the Bolsheviks. They constituted the overwhelming majority of the II Congress - 390 people out of the total number of 650 delegates who arrived for the opening of the Congress. During the work of the congress, several dozen more delegates arrived.

The Bolshevik faction was located on the first floor of Smolny. A continuous stream of people was heading towards her. The huge room, all of whose furniture consisted of a table and a few chairs, was

crowded with people. The delegates to the congress - the Bolsheviks - sat on the floor along the walls.

The mood was upbeat, but calm and confident. Many Bolshevik delegates stayed here, in Smolny, in the building of the faction the last days before the congress and spent the night. Having spread a newspaper, a coat, or an overcoat on the floor, they dozed for 2-3 hours in order to be ready again in the morning to carry out Party assignments. Some of them were armed with revolvers, rifles, checkers; hand grenades hung from his belt.

The composition of the delegates to the Second Congress of Soviets was a clear demonstration of how much the Bolshevik Party, during the seven months of the existence of the Provisional Government, had succeeded in convincing the masses that it was impossible to resolve questions about land and peace outside the proletarian revolution.

The Mensheviks and Right Socialist-Revolutionaries — the most powerful parties of the First Congress of Soviets — turned up miserably bankrupt at the Second Congress. It took a very short time for these supposed friends of the people to be fully exposed in the eyes of the workers and peasants as traitors, deserters of the revolution.

The Right SRs, together with the SRs of the center, formed a group of 60 delegates. The rest of the members of the Socialist-Revolutionary Party followed the "left". Subsequently, during the congress, the "Left" SRs, having won back some of the provincial delegates - the right and the center - numbered 179 people, making up the second largest faction of the congress after the Bolsheviks. By the beginning of the congress, the Mensheviks of various trends, including the Bund, had a group of about 80 people behind them.

Pale and confused, the leaders of the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries wandered dejectedly along the corridors of Smolny. These were generals without an army. At the factional meetings of the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, who had broken up into innumerable groups, a split occurred. The leaders of the Mensheviks and Right Socialist-Revolutionaries decided at first not to take part in the congress. But the mood of the masses was so revolutionary that

the rank-and-file members of the Menshevik and Socialist-Revolutionary Party openly opposed this decision of their leaders.

There was a long debate in the Menshevik faction, but the Menshevik leaders failed to achieve unity. A break was announced for the meeting of the Central Committee of the Mensheviks. At 6 pm the meeting of the faction resumed. Dan announced that the Central Committee of the Mensheviks had decided to absolve themselves of responsibility for the coup, and therefore the Menshevik party could not stand on the Bolshevik barricades. The Central Committee of the Mensheviks suggested that the faction refuse to participate in the Congress of Soviets and at the same time decided to start negotiations with the Provisional Government on the creation of power.

The Socialist-Revolutionaries in the faction also had a debate about their attitude to the congress. The Central Committee of the Socialist-Revolutionaries proposed to refuse to participate in the congress, but the majority faction decided not to leave the congress.

To keep the front delegates in their hands, the Socialist-Revolutionary Mensheviks created a front group. Taking advantage of the absence of the Bolsheviks, who had gone to the meeting of their faction, the Socialist-Revolutionary Mensheviks, by 16 votes to 9, with 6 abstentions, fabricated the group's opinion, deciding to evade participation in the congress.

The factional meetings dragged on until late in the evening.

By agreement of all the factions, it was decided to open the congress by 8 pm. At 10 o'clock the Menshevik faction was still in session. The Bolsheviks sent two representatives to the Mensheviks to find out when the Mensheviks would appear in the meeting hall. The Mensheviks replied that they needed at least another hour (see: *Towards the Congress of Soviets // Rabochaya Put, No. 46, October 26, 1917*).

Finally, at eleven o'clock in the morning, a group of members of the old Central Executive Committee, Mensheviks, and Socialist-Revolutionaries, appears at the presidium table.



Despite the late hour, Smolny is still full of movement. The white columned hall is flooded with chandelier lights; people climbed the ledges of the columns, the windowsills, and the benches. A dense crowd crowds in doors and aisles. At 10 o'clock 40 minutes a fat Menshevik Dan, in a military jacket, with a doctor's armband on his sleeve, comes up to the table. On behalf of the Central Executive Committee of the first convocation, he opens the congress.

However, the Mensheviks and their inseparable companions - the Right Socialist-Revolutionaries, it seemed, was the only reason they came to the congress to openly show their counter-revolutionary face to the insurgent workers and soldiers from its rostrum. From the very first moment they openly and unconditionally supported the counter-revolution, the nest of which - the Winter Palace - Petrograd workers and soldiers at that time, with rifles in their hands, took an attack.

"I am a member of the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee, and at this time our party comrades are in the Winter Palace under fire, selflessly performing their duty as ministers" (see: Central Archive. Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets R. and S. D. - Moscow-Leningrad: Gosizdat, 1928. S. 32), - Dan said, opening the congress.

The ministers, with whom Dan was in solidarity, at that time called troops from the front to pacify the Petrograd proletariat. They also sent Kerensky to the front to bring the Cossack units to Petrograd. They appointed the cadet Kishkin "dictator", giving him extraordinary powers to establish "order" in Petrograd.

"Without any speeches," Dan said, "I declare the session of the congress open and propose to proceed with the election of the presidium" (ibid.).

The Bolsheviks proposed to form a presidium on the basis of proportional representation of all factions present at the congress. However, the Mensheviks and Right Socialist-Revolutionaries refused to give their representatives. The Menshevik internationalists also stated that they "refrain" from participating in the elections to the presidency of the congress "until some questions are clarified" (ibid. P. 33).

Following this, the Menshevik internationalists put forward the demand "first of all to discuss precisely the question of how to prevent the inevitable civil war" (ibid. P. 34).

A thin, embittered figure of Martov appears on the platform. The leader of the Mensheviks, in a hoarse voice, begins to shout curses at the Bolsheviks, calling the victorious uprising of the proletariat a "secret conspiracy" and inviting the insurgent workers and soldiers to come to their senses before it is too late. The essence of the Mensheviks' proposal was that the members of the congress should go to the streets of Petrograd to persuade the insurgent workers and soldiers to return to their homes.

On behalf of the Menshevik internationalists, Martov recommended to the Congress

"Elect a delegation to negotiate with other socialist parties and organizations in order to achieve an end to the clash that has begun." Martov saw the possibility of preventing a civil war, in his words, "in the creation of a unified democratic government" (ibid.).

Representatives of "other socialist parties and organizations" with whom Martov proposed to agree "on the creation of a unified democratic government" were sitting right there at the congress. And if they sincerely wanted to follow the path of the demands of the vast majority of the working masses, they should have taken part in the work of the congress, obeying all its decrees. Martov's proposal was fraught with something else. "An end to the collision that had begun" - which the Mensheviks demanded - meant an end to the siege of the Winter Palace, freedom of action for the ministers who sat there, headed by the "dictator" Kishkin, gaining time for the Provisional Government to receive reinforcements from the front and mobilize counter-revolutionary forces in Petrograd itself. This proposal meant direct support for the counter-revolution.

Other wavering factions of the congress - the "Left" Socialist-Revolutionaries and the front group, joined Martov's proposal. The Bolshevik faction declared that it

"He has absolutely nothing against Martov's proposal. On the contrary, it is interested in all the factions to clarify their point of view on the current events and to say what they see as a way out of this situation" (ibid. P. 35).

In such a formulation of the question — in the sense that the factions of the congress clarified their attitude to the events — Martov's proposal was unanimously adopted by the congress.

The adopted resolution clearly could not satisfy the Mensheviks. The main content of their proposal - "ending the collision that has begun" - was not taken into account by the congress. One after another, the representatives of the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks demanded the floor for "extraordinary statements." Choking with impotent rage, they continued to shout about the "conspiracy" and "adventurism" of the Bolsheviks. From the rostrum of the Congress, they openly proclaimed a civil war against the Soviet regime.

"The Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries consider it necessary to dissociate themselves from everything that is happening here and to gather public forces in order to stubbornly resist attempts to seize power" (ibid.), Said the Menshevik Ya.A. Kharash, acting as a representative of the XII Army committee.

After him on the podium appeared Menshevik officer GD Kuchin, who took the floor "on behalf of the front group."

"From now on, the arena of struggle is shifted to the localities - there must be a mobilization of forces," the Menshevik envoy said.

- On whose behalf are you speaking? - they ask him from the field. - When were you selected? And what do the soldiers say? (Ibid. P. 36).

Kuchin begins to enumerate army committees one after another - II, III, IV, VI, VII and other armies. There are already obvious threats in his voice. He intimidates the congress by saying that the armies at the front will come to Petrograd and leave no stone unturned. He threatens the congress with the opening of the front and the death of Russia. In support of his words, Kuchin reads the resolutions of the army committees, full of the same threats.

Silence falls in the hall. A chill runs through the rows of delegates. The front-line units represent a tremendous fighting force. What if everything that this officer says is true? .. But here the tense silence of the hall is split by a loud, confident voice. Some front-line soldier in a mud-splattered overcoat hurriedly makes his way to the podium.

"They are presenting to us here the opinions of the heaps sitting in the army and front committees. The army has long been demanding their re-election ... The inhabitants of the trenches are eagerly awaiting the transfer of power into the hands of the Soviets" (ibid. P. 39).

And the orator, amid a storm of enthusiastic shouts and applause from the congress, shakes over the hall a bundle of soldiers' resolutions brought from the front.

After that the representative of the Latvian riflemen speaks. He says:

"You listened to the statement of two representatives of the army committees, and these statements would be valuable if their authors were real representatives of the army ... They do not represent the soldiers ... Let them go - the army is not with them!" (ibid. p. 38).

Kharash and Kuchin were typical representatives of the army committees elected almost at the beginning of the February Revolution. The rank and file soldier masses quite rightly viewed them as agents of the General Staff, which has changed little in its appearance since the fall of the autocracy. And from the very first minutes of the opening of the congress, a struggle began between representatives of the army, peasant, and railway top organizations speaking from the rostrum and the grassroots delegates who filled all the benches, ledges, and aisles of the huge hall: workers, soldiers, peasants. The rank-and-file delegates of the congress greeted every word of the committee members with hatred and ridicule, who spoke in the conference room as if in a hostile camp. Voices of indignation from the delegates' benches in response to the Menshevik-Socialist-Revolutionary threats, were only a faint echo of that enormous indignation at the policy of the Social-Compromisers that gripped the country. The voice of Kuchin and the other committee members reflected the yesterday of the revolution.

- Traitors ... You speak from the headquarters, not from the army! - they shouted contemptuously at Kuchin from the delegates' benches.

And in response to Kuchin's call for "all conscientious soldiers" to leave the congress, hundreds of soldiers' voices answered him from the audience:

- Kornilovites!

The dirty attacks made by Kharash and Kuchin in their speeches were repeated after this in the declarations announced by the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, full of miserable anger at the socialist revolution and counter-revolutionary attacks against the Bolsheviks.

In the declaration of the Mensheviks, the Great Socialist Revolution was called an "adventure", a "conspiracy" that "plunges the country into civil strife" and "leads to the triumph of counter-revolution." The only way out of the situation the Mensheviks considered ... "negotiations with the Provisional Government on the formation of power" (ibid. P. 37).

The Socialist-Revolutionaries joined the Mensheviks' statement. Their declaration read out by Hendelman, in complete unity with the Menshevik declaration called the October uprising "a crime against the motherland and the revolution" (ibid. P. 38).

The Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries announced in their declarations that they were leaving the congress. They were followed by a representative of the Bundist group, who also announced the decision to leave the congress.

On the podium is the representative of the Bundists Abramovich. He reported that all the Mensheviks, Socialist-Revolutionaries, the Executive Committee of Peasant Deputies, and members of the City Duma had decided to perish along with the government, and therefore they were all going to the Winter Palace under fire. Abramovich invited all members of the congress to accompany the Social Revolutionaries and Mensheviks to the Winter Palace.

"Not on the way," they answered from their seats.

After that, the Mensheviks, Right Socialist-Revolutionaries and Bundists left the congress, to which they came only to throw from its rostrum an appeal for the rallying of the counter-revolutionary forces.

From the presidium table I had to go across the entire hall. The leaders of the Compromisers made their way through the dense crowd of delegates, and from all the pews they were escorted with ridicule, whistles, and indignant exclamations.

- Deserters! Traitors! Good road! - shouted after them.

However, the Socialist-Revolutionary-Menshevik leaders did not manage to take even their supporters with them. The leftward movement of the lower ranks of the compromising parties continued at the Congress itself. 80 people registered in the Menshevik faction, and 60 in the right-wing Socialist-Revolutionaries. It could be expected that 140 delegates would leave. But part of the Socialist-Revolutionaries went over to the Ukrainian Socialist-Revolutionaries; the number of the latter increased from 7 to 21 overnight. Some of the Mensheviks moved over to the united internationalists who remained at the congress. The number of united internationalists increased from 14 to 35. Many Right Socialist-Revolutionaries and non-Party people joined the "Left" Socialist-Revolutionaries. The number of "Left" Socialist-Revolutionaries increased to 179, while all the Socialist-Revolutionaries numbered 193 before the opening of the congress. Thus, only 70 people left the congress, no more. And at the Congress itself the process of isolating the Compromisers continued:

The Mensheviks-internationalists also remained a little longer at the congress. Despite the fact that the behavior of the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries showed their obvious hostility to the revolution, the Menshevik internationalists continued to stubbornly insist on the need for an agreement with them to form a general democratic government.

Soon after the Compromisers left, echoes of dull, distant blows were heard in the Congress hall. It was the thunder of the guns. The delegates turned to the large dark windows, to where the last act of the great uprising - the storming of the Winter Palace - ended at midnight in October.

The Socialist-Revolutionary Mensheviks reappeared in the hall. With their faces distorted with panic and anger, they darted through the crowd of delegates, shouting that the Bolsheviks were shelling the Winter Palace. Abramovich rushed about on the podium again. Wringing his hands, he hysterically called the congress to help the members of the Provisional Government, among whom were party representatives delegated by the Mensheviks.

Abramovich is replaced on the podium by Martov.

- The information that was announced here even more insistently requires us to take decisive steps, - he begins.

But he is interrupted from places:

- What information? Why are you scaring us? Shame on you? These are just rumors!

- Not only rumors are heard here, but if you come closer to the windows, you will also hear cannon shots (ibid. P. 41).

Frightened by the thunder of gunfire, Martov accuses the Bolsheviks of a military conspiracy, of organizing bloodshed, and in conclusion, twitching nervously, reads out a declaration demanding the creation of a commission for the peaceful resolution of the crisis.

Until the conclusions of this commission were received, the Mensheviks-internationalists demanded that the work of the congress be closed.

As soon as the raspy voice of the Menshevik leader had died down and his stooped back disappeared through the door, the Socialist-Revolutionary representative of the Executive Committee of the Soviets of Peasants' Deputies made the same "admonitions" before the Congress. He urged the delegates not to take part "in this congress", but to go to the Winter Palace, where

"There are three members of the Executive Committee of Peasant Deputies, including Breshko-Breshkovskaya. We are now going there to die together with those who were sent there to do our will" (ibid. 44-45).

A handful of representatives of the Executive Committee of the Peasants' Deputies left the hall. Together with the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks, they went to the Winter Palace. In pursuit of them from the rostrum of the Congress, the sailor of the Aurora generously, reassuringly throws:

- Do not be afraid! We shoot blanks.

The representative of the Aurora, informing the delegates that the Winter Palace is being fired with blank shells, at the same time assures the congress that the sailors will take all measures to ensure that the congress of Soviets can "calmly continue their occupations" (ibid. P. 45).

A new storm of applause reads the hall. A group of people who had arrived at the congress was squeezing in to meet a handful of Mensheviks, Socialist-Revolutionaries, members of the bourgeois duma and the Executive Committee of the Peasant Council making their way to the exit.

The presiding judge reports that "the Bolshevik faction in the Duma has come to win or die with the All-Russian Congress" (ibid. P. 42).

Bolsheviks - members of the Petrograd City Duma are shown in the hallway. The congress welcomes them with a standing ovation.

At 3.10 am on October 26, after a short break, the meeting of the Congress of Soviets was resumed with the announcement of the capture of the Winter Palace. The last stronghold of the counter-revolution has fallen. The ministers who sat in the Winter Palace - members of the Provisional Government - led by the "dictator" Kishkin, were arrested by the Red Guard and soldiers. The Provisional Government, which deservedly acquired the hatred of the masses in a short time, no longer existed.

One after another, I heard the Congress of Soviets more and more messages about the victories of the Great Proletarian Revolution. About the transition of more and more units to the side of the insurgent people.

The commissar of the Tsarskoye Selo garrison appears and declares:



"The Tsarskoye Selo garrison guards the approaches to Petrograd ... Having learned about the approach of the scooterers, we prepared to repulse, but the alarm was in vain, as it turned out that there were no enemies of the All-Russian Congress of Soviets among the scooter comrades. When we sent our commissars to them, it turned out that they also stood for the power of the Soviets ... I declare that the Tsarskoye Selo garrison is for the All-Russian Congress, for the revolution, which we will defend to the last end" (ibid. Pp. 49-50).

After him, the representative of the 3rd scooter battalion, which was visited by Sergo Ordzhonikidze, rises to the podium. The congress greets the soldier with thunderous applause. The scooter representative says:

"Until recently, we served on the Southwestern Front. The other day, by telegraphic order, we were moved north. The telegram said that we were going to defend Petrograd, but from whom, we did not know; we were like blindfolded people; we did not know where they were sending us, but we vaguely guessed what the matter was. On the way, we were all tormented by the question: where, why?

At the Peredolskaya station, we staged a flying meeting together with the 5th scooter battalion to clarify the present situation. At the rally, it turned out that among all the scooterers there was not a single person who would agree to oppose the brothers and shed their blood ... We decided that we would not obey the Provisional Government. There, we said, there are people who do not want to defend our interests, but send us against our brothers. I declare to you specifically: no, we will not give power to a government headed by the bourgeoisie and landowners! " (ibid. p. 50).

After the speech of the representative of the scooterers, it was reported that a telegram had been received on the formation of a military revolutionary committee on the Northern Front, "which would impede the movement of echelons to Petrograd" (ibid. P. 52).

On behalf of the Congress of Soviets, greetings are sent to the Military Revolutionary Committee of the Northern Front.

The Congress of Soviets adopted the appeal "To the workers, soldiers and peasants" written by Lenin. It said:

"The Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies has opened. The vast majority of the Soviets are represented there. A number of delegates from peasant councils are also present at the congress. The powers of the compromising Central Executive Committee have ended.

Relying on the will of the vast majority of workers, soldiers, and peasants, relying on the victorious uprising of the workers and the garrison that took place in Petrograd, the congress takes power into its own hands.

The provisional government has been deposed. Most of the members of the Provisional Government have already been arrested ...

The congress decides: all power at the local level is transferred to the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers', and Peasants' Deputies, which must ensure a genuine revolutionary order" (ibid. P. 53).

A short proclamation, written in a sparse, concise Leninist language, opened a new era in the life of a multimillion people. From now on, the rule of the landowners and the bourgeoisie was abolished forever, and the broad masses of the working people themselves were involved in governing the state. Lenin's appeal ended with a revolutionary appeal on behalf of the Congress of Soviets to the soldiers, workers, and employees. It called them to vigilance and perseverance.

"Soldiers! - it said. - Show active opposition to the Kornilovite Kerensky! Be on guard!

Railwaymen! Stop all trains sent by Kerensky to Petrograd!

Soldiers, workers, office workers, the fate of the revolution and the fate of the democratic world are in your hands!

Long live the revolution!" (ibid. pp. 53-56).

For the first time in history, the transfer of power from the hands of one class to the hands of another was decreed so simply and briefly.

The reading of the appeal was often interrupted by stormy applause from the delegates. The "Left" Socialist-Revolutionaries who remained at the congress also joined the appeal. At 5 o'clock in the morning, the appeal was adopted by the congress with all votes to 2, with 12 abstentions.

And although it was already morning and the delegates were tired, everyone's eyes were bright and youthful, and their hearts were filled with joyful hope. The October dawn broke over the capital. A new life dawned on the world.

## 2. Decrees of the Great Proletarian Revolution

Most of the Bolshevik delegates spent the rest of the night on October 26 here, in Smolny. The next day, October 26, was filled with feverish work. An appeal from the Second Congress of Soviets to the whole country and all armies was sent by telegraph and telephone wires. The meeting of the Military Revolutionary Committee went on almost continuously. His decisions were agreed with Lenin, and often directly written by the leader of the revolution. Lenin proposed that the normal activities of city institutions, interrupted by the uprising, be restored as soon as possible. In the morning, an order from the Military Revolutionary Committee appeared: to open all trade establishments from October 27. All vacant premises and apartments were taken under the control of the Military Revolutionary Committee.

The main attention was paid to the final defeat of the counter-revolution. The Military Revolutionary Committee ordered to suspend and detain all the troop echelons going to Petrograd on the way.

"By issuing this instruction, - so the order ended, - the Military Revolutionary Committee hopes for its full support from the All-Russian Railway Union and calls for vigilance all railway employees and workers loyal to the cause of the revolution" (Orders of the Military Revolutionary Committee of the Petrograd Soviet R. and S. D. // News of the Central Executive Committee and the Petrograd Soviet of Workers 'and Soldiers' Deputies, No. 208, October 27, 1917).

A special appeal was sent to all the railway workers, in which it was announced that the revolutionary power of the Soviets was taking upon itself the task of improving the material conditions of the railway workers.

This appeal, in the light of the recent conflict between the railway workers and the Provisional Government, played a huge role. It drove a wedge between the top and bottom of the railroad workers. It prevented the leaders of the railway workers' union from enticing the masses to fight against the revolution.

Lenin, Stalin and Sverdlov devoted a lot of time to organizing the food business, bringing grain to Petrograd and the front.

In the evening, after a stormy day, a meeting of the Central Committee of the Bolsheviks took place. At this meeting, the composition of the new was discussed. the Soviet government. The name of the new government was approved - the Council of People's Commissars.

The second and final session of the Congress of Soviets opened at 9 pm on October 26. Decisions of enormous historical importance were made there. The first of them is the abolition of the death penalty restored by Kerensky at the front and the immediate release of all arrested revolutionary soldiers and officers. Then a resolution was adopted on the release of the members of the land committees arrested by the Kerensky government and on the transfer of all local power to the Soviets.

"From now on, all power belongs to the Soviets. Government commissars are removed. The chairmen of the Soviets communicate directly with the revolutionary government "(Central Archive. Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets of R. and S. D. - Moscow-Leningrad: Gosizdat, 1928, p. 57).

By a special resolution, the congress ordered all army organizations to take measures for the immediate arrest of Kerensky and his delivery to Petrograd.

Having approved the resolution, the congress proceeded to discuss the declaration on the main issues - about peace and land. Vladimir Ilyich Lenin made reports on these questions at the congress. Until

that moment, the congress had not seen him. Lenin worked in Smolny, fully occupied with organizing the uprising. Now he ascended the rostrum of the congress not only as a leader and teacher as the masses knew him before, but also as the organizer of the victory won by the proletariat over the united forces of counter-revolution.

No sooner had the chairman called this name, which had thundered all over the world, when the hall trembled from an explosion of unheard-of applause. It was as if a sudden gust of wind swept through the hall. The delegates jumped up from their seats. The entire congress was on its feet. Stormy applause and enthusiastic shouts greeted the leader of the world's greatest revolution.

Hundreds of eyes with delight and love were turned to the podium, where a short man with a large open forehead and attentive sharp eyes stood, towering over the hall.

He waited for the storm of cheers to subside. But at his insistent demand, the applause finally ceased. He began his talk.

Lenin's speech, as if emphasizing with all its content - "much has been said, it's time to get down to business", put the line at the turn of two eras.

"The question of peace," said Lenin, "is a burning question, a sore question of our time. Much has been said and written about him, and you probably all discussed him a lot. Therefore, allow me to move on to reading the declaration, which will have to be issued by the government you have elected" (VI Lenin Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets of R. and S. D. November 7-8 (October 25-26) 1917 Peace Report 8 November (October 26) // Sochi. T. XXII. P. 13).

This declaration - the decree on peace - was adopted by the congress in the form of an "Appeal to the peoples and governments of all the belligerent countries." The "appeal" began with the words:

"The workers' and peasants' government, created by the revolution of October 24-25 and based on the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers', and Peasants' Deputies, invites all the belligerent peoples and their governments to begin immediately negotiations on a just, democratic

peace" (Central Archive. Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets D. - Moscow-Leningrad: Gosizdat, 1928.S. 59).

The "appeal" indicated that

"A just, or democratic, peace ... the government considers an immediate peace without annexations (i.e., without the seizure of foreign lands, without the forcible annexation of foreign peoples) and without indemnities" (ibid.).

The "appeal" proposed to conclude peace immediately, expressing readiness to take decisive steps immediately

"Until the final approval of all the conditions of such a peace by the plenipotentiary assemblies of the people's representatives of all countries and all nations" (ibid.).

At the same time, the "Address" stated that the Soviet government

"He does not at all consider the above conditions of peace to be ultimatum, that is, he agrees to consider any other conditions of peace, insisting only on the fastest possible proposal by any belligerent and on their complete clarity, on the unconditional exclusion of any ambiguity and any mystery when proposing peace terms" (ibid. p. 60).

At the same time, the Soviet government announced its abolition of secret diplomacy, expressed a firm intention to conduct all negotiations completely openly before the entire people. The Soviet government promised to proceed immediately to the full publication of the secret treaties, declaring these treaties unconditionally and immediately canceled.

The "appeal", proposing to immediately conclude an armistice for three months, ended with an appeal to the proletariat of the advanced capitalist countries - England, France, Germany.

"The workers of these countries will understand the tasks lying on them of freeing mankind from the horrors of war and its consequences ... will help us successfully complete the cause of peace and, at the same time, the cause of freeing the working people and the

exploited masses of the population from all slavery and all exploitation" (ibid. S. 61-62).

The Peace Decree, adopted by the Second Congress of Soviets, was of great international importance.

The economic development of Russia, the national interests of the peoples of the country demanded its withdrawal from the unjust war. During the imperialist war, Russia increasingly turned into a semi-colony of foreign capital. Under the bourgeois Provisional Government, colonial dependence increased. The British and French imperialists, with the help of loans, were preparing for the complete enslavement of the country. Russia had to recoup the sacrifices of foreign imperialism; at the expense of Russia, imperialist Germany tried to achieve concessions in the West. But the Russian bourgeoisie was unable to save the country from becoming a colony. By virtue of its class, self-serving interests, entangled as by snares in loans, the Russian bourgeoisie was increasingly turning into agents of foreign imperialism. The petty bourgeoisie could not save the country,

Moreover, almost all the peasantry thirsted for peace. It did not seek peace in the name of socialism. It did not at all demand only a "democratic" peace, without annexations and indemnities. He needed peace primarily for the redistribution of the landlord's land.

Only one class could solve the tasks of the country's national development - the proletariat.

Long before the Bolshevik Party came to power, the Bolsheviks developed their platform of peace. Back in 1915, Lenin said that, once in power, the Bolsheviks would offer a democratic peace to all the belligerent countries on the terms of the liberation of the dependent and oppressed peoples. Under existing governments, neither Germany nor other belligerent countries would agree to these terms. Then the Bolsheviks would fully implement all the measures outlined in the party program, rebuild the country's economy, prepare, and wage a revolutionary war in defense of socialist society.

Only the working class led by the Bolsheviks liberated the country from semi-colonial dependence, pulled it out of an unjust war and laid the foundations for waging a just war.

The Russian proletariat became the spokesman for the country's national interests. He embodied the hopes of the democratic strata. But the proletariat solved the country's national democratic tasks not through a peace agreement with the government, but in the only possible revolutionary way: by turning the imperialist war into a civil war. The Russian proletariat accomplished the socialist revolution, simultaneously completing the unresolved tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution.

The "Decree on Peace" formulated the basis for the entire foreign policy of the Soviet state. The decree clearly and unequivocally announced the complete rejection of the Soviet government from any predatory goals. The "Peace Decree" dealt a decisive blow to the imperialist aims of the war, exposing its predatory character to the whole world. In his speech on the question of peace at the Congress of Soviets, Lenin pointed out:

"No government will say everything it thinks. We are against secret diplomacy, and we will act openly before the whole people" (VI Lenin Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets R. and S. D. November 7-8 (October 25-26) 1917 Peace report November 8 (October 26) // Soch. T. XXII. P. 16).

The peace program of the proletarian state was clear and fully defined. It was announced as an act of state, addressed to both the governments and the peoples of the belligerent countries. Lenin especially noted this circumstance in his report to the Congress of Soviets. He said:

"We cannot ignore the governments, because then the possibility of concluding peace is delayed, and the people's government does not dare to do this, but we have no right not to simultaneously appeal to the peoples. Everywhere governments and peoples diverge among themselves, and therefore we must help the peoples to intervene in questions of war and peace" (ibid. P. 15).



And further, dwelling on the question of the inadmissibility of the presentation of ultimatum conditions for peace, Lenin pointed out:

"We, of course, will in every way defend our entire program of peace without annexations and indemnities. We will not retreat from it, but we must knock out of the hands of our enemies the opportunity to say that their conditions are different, and therefore there is nothing to enter into negotiations with us. No, we must deprive them of this advantageous position and not put our conditions in an ultimatum" (ibid. Pp. 15-16).

Comrade Eremeev spoke out against this point at the session of the Congress of Soviets. "They might think that we are weak, that we are afraid" (Central Archive. Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets R. and S. D. - Moscow-Leningrad: Gosizdat, 1928, p. 65), - he said.

In his closing remarks, Lenin strongly objected to Eremeev.

"The ultimatum can be disastrous for our whole business," he explained. "We cannot demand that any insignificant deviation from our demands would enable the imperialist governments to say that it was impossible to enter into peace negotiations because of our intransigence" (V.I. Lenin, Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets. and S. D. November 7-8 (October 25-26) 1917 Peace report on November 8 (October 26) // Works. T. XXII. P. 17).

But a particularly striking argument against the ultimatum, cited by Lenin in his concluding speech at the congress, was the indication that a peasant from "some distant province" would say:

"Comrades, why did you rule out the possibility of proposing any conditions for peace? I would discuss them, I would look them over, and then instruct my representatives in the Constituent Assembly what to do" (ibid.).

Every word of Lenin fell like a refreshing rain on the dry ground covered with caked blood. Hundreds of delegates in the Smolny hall eagerly listened to every word of Lenin's. The simple, artless words of Lenin's report and "Address" responded to the sore hearts of millions of people of different nations. They expressed their deepest aspirations and hopes.

The representatives of the oppressed nations unanimously supported the Bolshevik Peace Decree. The tall, slender figure of Felix Dzerzhinsky appeared on the podium of the congress.

His stern, ascetic face shone with joy of victory.

"We know," said Dzerzhinsky, "that the only force that can liberate the world is the proletariat, which is fighting for socialism ...

Those on whose behalf this declaration was proposed are marching in the ranks of the proletariat and the poorest peasantry; all those who left this hall in these tragic moments are not friends, but enemies of the revolution and the proletariat. You will not find a response to this appeal from them, but you will find this response in the hearts of the proletariat of all countries. Together with such allies, we will achieve peace.

We do not exhibit separation of ourselves from revolutionary Russia. We always come across with it. We will have one fraternal family of peoples without strife and strife" (Central Archive. Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets of R. and S. D. - Moscow-Leningrad: Gosizdat, 1928, pp. 17-18).

There was silence in the hall. The delegates listened tensely to the agitated speech of the Polish revolutionary and became infected with his confidence in victory. His passionate words seemed to push the walls of the hall, and the delegates saw how the age-old fetters of Tsarist Russia - the prisons of nations - were crumbling. One after another, fighters for the liberation of oppressed nations rose to the podium. The old revolutionary Stuchka on behalf of the Latvian proletariat and the poor, supported the peace decree. Comrade Kapsukas-Mitskevich added on behalf of the Lithuanian workers:

"There is no doubt that the "Appeal" will find a response in the hearts of all peoples inhabiting not only Russia, but also peoples of other countries. The voice of the revolutionary proletariat, army and peasantry will pass through bayonets and penetrate Germany and other countries and will contribute to universal liberation" (ibid. P. 18).

On the very next day after the revolution, at dawn, the radio spread throughout the world the great, wise words of the Soviet Peace Decree, breaking the iron shackles of the imperialist war. The people cried as they listened, and hope rekindled in their long-faded eyes.

The delegates of the Congress of Soviets at the meeting in Smolny accepted this historic decree with enthusiasm. The order of the meeting was violated. People jumped up from the benches, delegates mingled with the members of the presidium. Caps flew into the air, faces flushed, eyes lit up with enthusiasm.

The sounds of the "Internationale" - the anthem of the proletarian struggle - mingled with cheers and thunderous "hurray" in honor of the great leader of the revolution.

One of the congress delegates came to the podium and, amid a general roar of approval, proposed to greet Lenin as "the author of the appeal and a staunch fighter and leader of the victorious workers' and peasants' revolution" (ibid. P. 21).

All the delegates stood up and gave an ovation to Lenin.

The chairman of the congress announced the transition to the second item on the agenda. With thunderous applause, Lenin again took the podium at the Congress. The next step is the question of land.

"I will read to you those points of the decree that your Soviet government should issue," says Lenin, and the stirring words of the "Decree on Land" are heard in the silent hall.

It said:

"one. Landowners' ownership of land is canceled immediately without any redemption.

2. Landlord estates, as well as all appanage, monastic, church lands, with all their living and dead implements, manor buildings and all accessories, are transferred to the disposal of volost land committees and district councils of peasant deputies, until the Constituent Assembly "(V. I. The Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets of R. and S. D. November 7-8 (October 25-26) 1917. Report on the world on November 8 (October 26) // Works. T. XXII. Pp. 20-21).

Further, the decree stipulated that "any damage to the confiscated property, which henceforth belongs to the entire people, is declared a grave crime punishable by a revolutionary court" (ibid. P. 21). Uyezds Soviets pledged to ensure the strictest order in the confiscation of landlord estates and revolutionary protection of everything that was transferred to the people of the economy.

"To guide the implementation of the great land transformations, until their final decision by the Constituent Assembly, must serve everywhere ... the peasant mandate, drawn up on the basis of 242 local peasant orders by the editors of the Izvestia All-Russian Council of Peasant Deputies ... (ibid.).

In conclusion, the decree stipulated that "the land of ordinary peasants and ordinary Cossacks will not be confiscated" (ibid.).

Together with the declaration of peace, the decree on land occupies the main place among the most important decisions of the Soviet government.

The vast majority of the peasantry had long awaited the expropriation of the landlords. This task, before the solution of which the bourgeois-democratic revolution was powerless, was solved by the decree on land. Lenin expressed his main idea at the same time, at the Second Congress of Soviets, in the following words:

"The point is that the peasantry should have firm confidence that there are no more landowners in the countryside, that let the peasants themselves decide all the issues, let them arrange their own lives" (ibid. P. 23).

The "Decree on Land" showed the peasant that the Soviet government would finally and irrevocably eliminate the landlords in the countryside with their oppression and exploitation, and at the same time gave the peasant confidence that the land would indeed be at his disposal.

A series of attacks on the Bolsheviks from the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks caused the 4th clause of the "Decree on Land", which offered the so-called "Peasant Mandate" as a "guide to the implementation of great land reforms". On the basis of 242

orders given by the peasants to the delegates of the 1st All-Russian Congress of Peasant Deputies, the Social Revolutionaries drew up a "Model Order" that summarized all peasant demands. The Social Revolutionaries published the order on August 19, 1917 in *Izvestia* of the All-Russian Council of Peasant Deputies. It proclaimed that all land would become the property of the whole people and "pass into the use of all working people on it" (ibid. P. 21), he established "equal land use" and prohibited the use of hired labor in agriculture. The Socialist-Revolutionary program was at odds with the Bolshevik program of land nationalization.

But in one - and, moreover, a decisive - issue, the "Order" had something in common with the Bolshevik program, formulated at the April conference in paragraph 17. This in common consisted in the demand for the confiscation of all landlord, appanage, and monastery lands and in the transfer of them into the hands of local Soviet bodies - the Soviets and volost committees. Namely, this was the main and most important revolutionary event that the peasantry was waiting for. It was important to take the land away from the landlords and declare that the peasants have the right to use it, that the landlord oppression has been liquidated. And since the majority of the peasantry in an organized manner expressed a desire to arrange the use of the seized land in the way it was outlined in the "Order", the October Socialist Revolution, with its first act on land, had to confirm this right of the peasants.

It should be noted that this situation was not unexpected for Lenin and for the whole party. Long before the October Revolution, before the Fourth Party Congress, Lenin pointed out in his brochure "Revision of the Agrarian Program":

"In order to eliminate any idea that the workers' party wants to impose any reform plans on the peasantry regardless of the will of the peasantry, regardless of the independent movement within the peasantry, option A is attached to the draft program, which, instead of directly demanding nationalization, says first on the party's support for the aspirations of the revolutionary peasantry to abolish private ownership of land" (VI Lenin, *Revision of the agrarian program* // Works. Vol. IX. P. 74).

As is known, Lenin always defended this idea when discussing the agrarian program. And he emphasized that this program "will not in any way introduce discord between the peasantry and the proletariat, as fighters for democracy" (ibid.).

Therefore, Lenin had every reason at the Second Congress of Soviets to reject, as frivolous, the accusation that the Bolsheviks were pursuing, they say, someone else's program. Lenin explained:

"There are voices here that the decree and the mandate itself were drawn up by socialist revolutionaries. So be it. Does it matter who it was drawn up, but, as a democratic government, we cannot bypass the decision of the lower classes, even if we did not agree with it. In the fire of life, applying it in practice, conducting it on the ground, the peasants themselves will understand where the truth is. And even if the peasants continue to follow the socialist-revolutionaries and even if they even give this party a majority at the Constituent Assembly, then here too we will say: - so be it. Life is the best teacher, and it will show who is right, and let the peasants from one end, and we will resolve this issue from the other end "(VI Lenin, Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets R. and S. D. November 7-8 (25-26 October) 1917. Report on the earth on November 8 (October 26) // Works. T. XXII. P. 23)

All the wisdom, perspicacity, and reality of Lenin's policy on this issue consisted precisely in the fact that, without hiding their disagreement with certain points of the "Order," the Bolsheviks nevertheless made it the basis of the agrarian platform of October. The party foresaw that the peasants, applying the law in practice, would themselves come "from the other end" to the Bolshevik solution of the problem, that they themselves would abandon the petty-bourgeois Socialist-Revolutionary "equalization" and move on to organizing new forms of agriculture. The peasantry will be convinced from the experience of life that the equalization of the land alone does not make the weak peasant free from kulak bondage. Now, for the elimination of landlord oppression, a struggle will flare up between the poor peasant strata of the countryside and the kulaks over the question of the distribution of land, its cultivation, implements, etc.

The program outlined in the "Order" essentially ceased to be a Socialist-Revolutionary program, since it was the Socialist-Revolutionaries who zealously supported the Provisional Government in its struggle against the attempts of the peasants to take the land from the landlords, that is, to implement the demand of their own "Order". Under these conditions, the "decree on land" is a special form of isolation of the Socialist-Revolutionaries from the peasantry. With one blow, the Soviet government wrested huge masses from the influence of the Compromisers. The first act of Soviet power, which was faced with the task of winning the masses from the bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeois parties "through the revolutionary satisfaction of their most pressing economic needs" (Lenin V.I. Elections to the Constituent Assembly and the dictatorship of the proletariat // Soch. T. XXIV. P. 640), and consisted in meeting this demand of the peasantry.

The Peasant Mandate was published by the Social Revolutionaries on August 19. And two months later, on October 18, with the participation of the same Social Revolutionaries, members of the Kerensky government, a ministerial draft law on land was published, which fundamentally contradicted the "Order". The "Peasant Mandate" lay for over two months without moving. Only the proletarian revolution brought it to life. On Lenin's proposal, the Second Congress of Soviets turned the Peasant Mandate into an unshakable law, into a Decree on Land. By transforming the "Order" into law, the Bolsheviks thereby showed the peasants that the party of Lenin and Stalin in one day did more for the working people than the Socialist-Revolutionaries in seven months of the revolution.

The Land Decree was adopted by all votes to one, with eight abstentions. The mood of the congress was vividly expressed by the delegate, a peasant from the Tver province. He stated in his speech that he "brought deep bows and greetings to this meeting."

On behalf of his voters, he conveyed "greetings and gratitude to Comrade Lenin as the staunchest defender of the peasant poor" (Central Archive. Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets of R. and S. D. - Moscow-Leningrad: Gosizdat, 1928, p. 74).

The peasant's speech was drowned in the enthusiastic shouts of the delegates.

The peasants fought for the land for hundreds of years. Over the centuries, peasants of all peoples of Russia have plowed millions of dessiatines of untouched virgin lands. With incredible labor, they cleared the land from the tenacious roots of a dense, dense forest, reclaimed it from wastelands and swamps.

But for centuries this land was taken from the peasants, obtained by the labor of generations. The feudal landlords seized the land, turning the peasants themselves into serfs. The capitalists, landowners, and kulaks, by the power of economic coercion, by the power of capital, drove the peasants into the sand. More than once the peasants rose up against the invaders, against the landlords. But then there was no proletariat, the only class that was consistently revolutionary to the end, capable of leading the peasant movement. Only in the October Socialist Revolution did the age-old vague, powerless aspirations of the working peasantry come true: the land was confiscated, without ransom taken from the landowner by the victorious oppressed classes under the leadership of the proletariat.

The "Decree on Land" destroyed landlord Russia. But the land of the landowners was mortgaged and repeatedly re-mortgaged in banks. The blow to landlord property was a blow to the entire capitalist system. The abolition of private ownership of land also undermined private ownership of all means of production. Moreover, the abolition of private ownership of land destroyed the age-old proprietary prejudices of the peasants. The road was opened for new, socialist forms of economy instead of the old, serf forms that kept the majority of peasants in poverty and hunger on tiny plots of land. This was the socialist face of the Land Decree.

The Decree on Land, like the Decree on Peace, carried the bourgeois-democratic revolution to the end, solved the tasks not completed by the bourgeois-democratic revolution, but did it "in passing, in passing."

"... In order to secure the gains of the bourgeois-democratic revolution for the peoples of Russia, we had to advance further, and we



advanced further. We solved the issues of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in passing, in passing, as a "by-product" of our main and real, proletarian-revolutionary, socialist work "(Lenin V.I. On the four-year anniversary of the October Revolution // Works. T. XXVII. P. 26).

This is how Lenin wrote about the achievements of the Great Proletarian Revolution.

The last item on the agenda of the congress was the question of the structure of power. On this issue, the congress adopted a decree on the formation of a workers 'and peasants' government - the Council of People's Commissars. The decree adopted by the Congress read:

"The All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies resolves:

To form a Provisional Workers 'and Peasants' Government, which will be called the Council of People's Commissars, to govern the country until the convocation of the Constituent Assembly.

Control over the activities of People's Commissars and the right to dismiss them belongs to the All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers', Peasants' and Soldiers' Deputies and its Central Executive Committee "(Central Archive. Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets of R. and S. D. - Moscow-Leningrad: Gosizdat, 1928. S. 79-80).

Vladimir Ilyich Lenin was appointed chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, and Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin was appointed People's Commissar for Nationalities.

The first Soviet government included only Bolsheviks. The "Left" SRs rejected the proposal of the Bolsheviks to share power with them. Their representative stated at the congress that

"Joining the Bolshevik ministry would create an abyss between them and the detachments of the revolutionary army who had left the congress — an abyss that would exclude the possibility of their mediation between the Bolsheviks and these groups" (ibid. P. 83).

Reflecting the ideology of the wealthy elite of the village and at the same time the peasant's thirst for land, the "Left" Socialist-

Revolutionaries wavered between the Bolsheviks and the petty-bourgeois parties. While ideologically gravitating towards the latter, they at the same time understood perfectly well that the peasants could only get land from the hands of the Bolsheviks. Hence the rushing of the "Left" Socialist-Revolutionaries between the Bolsheviks and the petty-bourgeois parties arose. These were fellow travelers of the proletarian revolution for the time being, who, however, at a critical moment could change and betray.

In conclusion, the congress elected a Central Executive Committee of 101 people, which included: 62 Bolsheviks, 29 "Left" Socialist-Revolutionaries, 6 United Social Democrats-Internationalists, 3 Ukrainian Socialists and 1 Socialist-Revolutionary Maximalist.

At 5 hours 15 minutes in the morning on October 27, the Second Congress of Soviets closed amid loud exclamations: "Long live the revolution! Long live socialism! " (ibid. p. 92) and singing of the Internationale.

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Російская Соціалъ-Демократич. Рабочая Партія.

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Пролетаріи всѣхъ странъ, соединяйтесь!

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**Третій Всероссійскій Сѣздъ  
Совѣтовъ Рабочихъ, Солдатскихъ  
и Крестьянскихъ Депутатовъ.**



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ПЕТЕРБУРГЪ

1918.

### **Third All-Russian Congress of Soviets January 10-18, 1918**

All-Russian III Congress of Soviets, held on January 10-18 (January 23-31) 1918 in Petrograd. The congress approved the Declaration of the Rights of the Working and Exploited People, and the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (RSFSR) was created. The task was set to develop the main provisions of the Constitution of the RSFSR.

On January 18 (31), 1918, the Third All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies finished its work in the Tauride Palace in Petrograd. The main result of the work of the congress was the approval of the Declaration of the Rights of the Working and Exploited People - a document that created the legal basis for the development of the first Soviet Constitution.

On January 10 (23), the work of the Third All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies began, which was attended by 942 delegates with a casting vote and 104 with an advisory vote. On the agenda were: the report of the Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars; approval of the Declaration of the Rights of the Working and Exploited People; reports "On federal institutions of the Russian Republic", "On war and peace"; approval of the law on the socialization of the land; elections to the Central Executive Committee.

After hearing on January 11 (24) the reports of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee (VTsIK) and the Council of People's Commissars (SNK), the delegates approved the policy of the Soviet government and expressed their full confidence in it.

On January 13 (26), the congress merged with the Third All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Peasant Deputies and became known as the Third All-Russian Congress of Workers', Soldiers', and Peasants' Deputies. This amalgamation completed the process of creating a single supreme body of Soviet power and accelerated the merger of workers', soldiers', and peasants' Soviets in the localities. By the end of the congress there were 1,647 delegates with a deciding vote and 219 with an advisory vote.

In the resolution of the congress "On the federal institutions of the Russian Republic" the basic principles of the organization of the Soviet multinational state were fixed. The congress instructed the All-Russian Central Executive Committee to develop the basic provisions of the Constitution of the RSFSR. On January 18 (31), the foundations of the law on the socialization of the land were approved. The congress approved the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly and approved the new name of the Soviet government - the Workers' and Peasants' Government of the Russian Soviet Republic. The delegates by a majority vote approved the Declaration of the Rights of the Working and Exploited People, which became the prototype of the first Constitution of Soviet Russia.

Thus, the III All-Russian Congress of Soviets was an important historical milestone on the initial path of building the world's first socialist state. The newspaper *Izvestia* wrote in those days: "The Great Constituent Congress of the Russian Socialist Revolution adopted the Declaration of the Rights of the Working and Exploited People, which from now on will serve as an immortal charter of labor ... The working people, the oppressed and exploited all over the world will greeted with delight this solemn proclamation of labor rights and international workers' solidarity."

Российская Социалистическая Федеративная Советская Республика.

„Приветствие всем странам, соединяющимся!“



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СТЕНОГРАФИЧЕСКИЙ ОТЧЕТ

# 4-го ЧРЕЗВЫЧАЙНОГО СЪЕЗДА СОВЕТОВ

РАБОЧ., СОЛДАТСК., КРЕСТЬЯНСК.  
и КАЗАЧЬИХ ДЕПУТАТОВ.



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ГОСУДАРСТВЕННОЕ ИЗДАТЕЛЬСТВО.  
Москва — 1920.

#### **Fourth All-Russian Congress of Soviets. March 14-16, 1918**

Verbatim report of the All-Russian IV Congress of Soviets, held on March 14-16, 1918 in Moscow. The ratification of the Brest Peace Treaty took place at the congress, and a decision was made to transfer the capital to Moscow.

According to the credentials committee, published in Izvestia VTsIK on March 17, 1918, it was present with a decisive vote 1204 delegates: 795 Bolsheviks, 284 "Left" Socialist-Revolutionaries, 14 anarchists, 3 Ukrainian Socialist-Revolutionaries, 24 Maximalists, 29 Center Socialist-Revolutionaries, 11 Menshevik Internationalists, 6 United Mensheviks, 21 Mensheviks, 17 Non-Party People.

The most important item on the agenda of the congress was the question of ratifying the Brest Peace Treaty with the powers of the Quadruple Alliance. By a majority of 724 votes against 276 and with 118 abstentions, the congress on March 15 (2) approved the resolution written by Lenin and proposed by the Bolshevik faction on the ratification of the Brest Peace Treaty.

The decision of the congress marked the victory of Lenin's policy of peace. This victory was won by the party in a merciless struggle against the bourgeoisie and its agents in the person of the Mensheviks, right and "left" Socialist-Revolutionaries, as well as against anti-party groups - the Trotskyists, "left communists", who provoked the war against German imperialism, which was disastrous for Soviet Russia.

Lenin's tactics of winning a peaceful respite to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and create a powerful armed forces of the republic in the person of the Workers 'and Peasants' Red Army, brilliantly justified in the further course of historical events. In October-November 1918, the collapse of German imperialism followed as a result of its defeat on the fronts of the imperialist war and the rapid development of the revolution in Germany. On November 13, 1918, the All-Russian Central Executive Committee adopted a resolution annulling the Brest-Litovsk peace treaty,

The question of transferring the capital to Moscow came close to the Soviet government at the end of February 1918 in connection with the

German offensive on February 18 (5), which threatened the nearest approaches to Petrograd. According to the decree of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, all government agencies on March 11-12 (February 26-27) 1918 moved from Petrograd to Moscow. The extraordinary IV All-Russian Congress of Soviets approved by its resolution this government decision.



СЕДЬМОЙ  
ЭКСТРЕННЫЙ  
СЪЕЗД РКП(б)

СТЕНОГРАФИЧЕСКИЙ  
ОТЧЕТ

## **Seventh Emergency Congress of the RCP (B) - March 1918**

The VII Extraordinary Congress of the RCP (b) convened mainly to resolve the question of peace. It was the first party congress after the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the creation of the world's first Soviet socialist state.

In four months, from October 1917 to February 1918, Soviet power was established throughout the vast country. This period, in the figurative expression of V. I. Lenin, was a "triumphal march" of Soviet power. Having conquered power, the proletariat, with revolutionary speed and energy, carried out a series of fundamental democratic and socialist transformations that meet the most urgent vital needs of the masses. The working class, in alliance with the poorest peasantry, destroyed the bourgeois state machine to its foundations, and established a truly popular power - the dictatorship of the proletariat. Landlord ownership was completely destroyed. The land was nationalized and transferred free of charge for the use of the peasantry. Large factories, factories, railways, banks were confiscated from the bourgeoisie and turned into the property of the entire people. This undermined the economic might of the exploiting classes and at the same time laid the foundations for new, socialist forms of economy. The Soviet government put an end to the national oppression and solemnly proclaimed the complete settlement and equality of all peoples and nationalities of Russia. All these and other revolutionary transformations have radically changed the balance of the struggling class forces within the country. Under these conditions, the revolutionary people relatively easily and quickly broke the resistance of the overthrown exploiting classes - the landlords and the bourgeoisie, who within the country, as Lenin pointed out, "had no political or economic support, and their attack was broken".

In the struggle for the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the Communist Party, headed by V. I. Lenin, won the boundless confidence of the working class and the working peasantry. With the victory of Soviet power, the Communist Party became the leading force of the state of the proletarian dictatorship. She assumed full responsibility for the fate of socialism. Before you were faced with new tasks of organizing the construction of socialism

and defending the socialist fatherland from the attack of the overthrown exploiting classes and imperialist powers, the task of carrying out "the maximum feasible in one country for the development, support and awakening of the revolution in all countries."

But for this **it was necessary, first of all, to lead Russia out of the imperialist war**, which claimed millions of lives, completely destroyed the national economy, and doomed the working people to poverty and hunger. The first decree of the Soviet government was the decree on peace, adopted at the suggestion of V.I. Lenin on October 26, 1917 by the Second Congress of Soviets. **The congress openly declared a complete rejection of all treaties pursuing aggressive aims.** The war was declared "the greatest crime against humanity." The peoples and governments of all the belligerent powers were invited to begin peace negotiations for the conclusion of a general, just, democratic peace. The Congress of Soviets solemnly declared its determination to immediately sign peace on conditions equally fair for all peoples, without the seizure of foreign lands, without the enslavement of peoples, without indemnities. Thus, from the first day of the existence of the Soviet state, the struggle for peace became the basis of its foreign policy, which is based on Lenin's idea of the possibility of peaceful coexistence of two systems with different social systems.

However, the world had to be conquered in a fierce struggle both against the warring imperialist powers, and against the entire camp of internal counterrevolution, as well as in a **bitter struggle against the "left communist" and Trotskyist adventurers within the Bolshevist party.**

The governments of the Entente powers (USA, Great Britain, France, etc.) responded to the Soviet government's proposal for an immediate armistice and the opening of peace negotiations **with a conspiracy of silence.** This excluded **the possibility of concluding a general peace.** Germany and its military allies, although they agreed to peace negotiations, sought to impose a predatory and humiliating peace on Soviet Russia. The Soviet government, full of firm determination to fulfill the revolutionary will of the workers and peasants and to

achieve an exit from the war, was forced to begin peace negotiations with Germany and its allies without the participation of the Entente.

**Truce negotiations began on November 20** (December 3) 1917 in Brest-Litovsk. An armistice agreement was signed on December 2 (15). On December 9 (22), 1917, peace negotiations began. The very first days of the negotiations revealed the desire of the German imperialists to tear away from Russia and annex to Germany the territories of Poland, Lithuania, parts of Latvia, Estonia, and Belarus. The brazen demands of the German imperialists were supported by representatives of the Central Ukrainian Rada, whose credentials were recognized by the head of the Soviet delegation, Trotsky. After that, the German imperialists finally threw off the mask of peacefulness and switched to a policy of threats and ultimatums. The Soviet delegation was given an ultimatum that the acceptance of the German proposals was an absolutely necessary condition for the conclusion of peace.

No matter how heavy and humiliating were the demands of imperialist Germany, **the only correct way out, in the concrete historical conditions prevailing in Soviet Russia** and in the international arena, was a temporary retreat before German imperialism and the conclusion of peace, albeit at a high price. Otherwise, the war with Germany could end in the death of Soviet power. Such a conclusion followed with all the necessity from a comprehensive assessment of the internal and international situation in Soviet Russia.

The unconditional need to sign the incredibly difficult Brest Peace **Treaty was dictated primarily by the fact that the Soviet Republic did not have an army.** A new, Workers 'and Peasants' Red Army was just being created. **The old army was,** in the words of V.I. Lenin, **a sick organism.** Its fighting spirit was broken by the imperialist war, the goals of which would be alien or used to the soldiers. The soldiers were rushing home, wanting to take part in the division of the landlord's land and in the creation of a new, Soviet social and state system. A careful study of the reports from the front, the responses of the delegates of the First All-Army Congress to questions of a special questionnaire developed by V.I. **Fatigue caused**

**by the war** and hatred of war engulfed not only the army, but also the broad masses of the working class and peasantry, on whose shoulders the main brunt of the war fell in the first place. A **breathing time was needed**, during which the masses could free themselves from this fatigue and, on the basis of their own experience, be imbued with the determination to go to the revolutionary war.

It was also **impossible to continue the war because the country was going through a state of ruin** and economic decline generated by the war and Kerenskyism. Factories were closed all over Russia. According to - far from complete data of the factory inspection, from March to December 1917, **824 enterprises were closed and 168,670 workers were laid off**. Unemployment grew in Moscow, Petrograd, and other cities of Russia. In Petrograd alone, by January 1918, there were up to 100,000 unemployed. Railway transport was in a difficult situation. By the end of 1917, the car fleet decreased by 28.8%, the transportation of industrial and food cargoes decreased; in October 1917, the average daily loading was 16,627 wagons, or 34% less than in 1916.

"A small-peasant country, hungry and exhausted by the war, which has just begun to heal its wounds, is against the technically and organizationally higher productivity of labor - **this is the objective situation** at the beginning of 1918", wrote V. I. Lenin, describing the situation in the country.

The socialist revolution was victorious in one country and was surrounded by hostile capitalist states, which were preparing to attack the Republic of Soviets. Unlike the period of the "triumphal march", when the forces of the revolution were faced with comparatively weak, as V. I. Lenin noted, scanty, despicable enemies, gangs of cadets and bourgeois, now one of the giants of world imperialism has risen before the Soviet Republic.

**Under these conditions**, the only way out could be the earliest possible conclusion of peace. Young Soviet Russia needed at least a short respite in order to put the economy in order and prepare an army capable of defending the country from the onslaught of imperialism.

**Counter-revolutionaries of all stripes** - from monarchists and Cadets to Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks - **took up arms against the conclusion of peace.** All of them, like the governments of the Entente powers, wanted to continue the war "to a victorious end." By speculating on the difficult conditions of the peace treaty proposed by Germany, **they set a trap for the Soviet regime,** realizing that the continuation of the war would inevitably lead to its death, to the restoration of the bourgeois-landlord system in Russia. The Bolshevik Party and **Soviet power were pulled into this trap by the "left communists",** these "**phrase revolutionaries**" headed by Bukharin, as well as Trotsky. Covering up their opportunist nature with loud phrases, the "**Left Communists**" **waged a struggle against Lenin,** against the majority of the Party. They slanderously portrayed the Party's Leninist policy as non-proletarian and compromising towards the imperialists. Regardless of the objectively developed domestic and international situation, they demanded a break in the peace negotiations and the immediate declaration of a revolutionary war on Germany. **Trotsky,** being in fact on the same positions as the "left communists", covered himself with the **loud phrase "no peace, no war."**

The situation was aggravated by the fact that the "**left communists**" **held leading positions in a number of major party organizations, including Moscow and Petrograd,** and some honest and loyal communists did not immediately notice the fundamental changes in the struggle for the socialist revolution. The Soviet Republic came face to face with international imperialism, the struggle against which required a completely different approach than it was in the struggle against the internal enemies of the revolution. **Not only ordinary communists,** but also such experienced political figures as F.E. Dzerzhinsky, V.V. Kuibyshev, M.V. Frunze, did not immediately understand the radical change in the situation and the disastrous policy of the "free communists". The plundering conditions of the world aroused the indignation of wide sections of the working people.

The first to oppose the acceptance of the German terms of peace were the Moscow Regional Bureau and the St. Petersburg Committee of the

RSDLP (b). On December 28, 1917 (January 10, 1918), the plenum of the Moscow Regional Bureau, whose leadership temporarily turned out to be the **"left communists"** Lomov, Maksimovsky, Osinsky, Sapronov, Stukov, and others. On the same day, the majority of the St. Petersburg Committee of the RSDLP (b), which included Boki, S. Kosior, Fenigstein, S. Ravich and other "left communists", spoke out against the German peace terms. In the most difficult and crucial period of the party's struggle for Russia's withdrawal from the imperialist war, the Moscow district, Moscow city party committees and a number of the largest party committees of the Urals, Ukraine, and Siberia, led by the "left communists", also spoke out against the Leninist peace policy. Thus, **many party committees were infected with the "left communist" disease.** "Left communism" was then the main danger in the party.

The struggle for peace and the preservation of the dictatorship of the proletariat had to be sustained primarily within the party. The task was to help those who were honestly mistaken to free themselves from **the illusion of a revolutionary war**, to fully expose the ruinous platform of the "left communists" and to conclude peace with Germany without delay. The greatest merit in solving this most difficult task belongs to V.I. Lenin. VI Lenin brilliantly substantiated the need for a radical change in the tactics of the party, **the transition from the "triumphal march" of Soviet power to a temporary retreat.** His unsurpassed wisdom, adherence to principles and iron will ensured the adoption of the only correct policy by the party on the issue of war and peace. This was achieved in a **fierce inner-party struggle against Trotsky and the "left communists"**.

On January 8 (21), 1918, a meeting of the members of the Central Committee of the party with the communist delegates of the III Congress of Soviets was held in Petrograd. VI Lenin spoke at the conference and read out his famous **"Theses on the question of the immediate conclusion of a separate and annexationist peace"**. After analyzing the internal and international situation, outlining the course of the peace talks in Brest-Litovsk, V.I., in the absence of an efficient army and its unwillingness to fight for interests alien to it, it

**would be a gamble.** Lenin pointed out that **a respite must be taken immediately**, then it will be too late.

Trotsky, Kamenev, Preobrazhensky, Lomov, Osinsky, Yakovleva spoke out against Lenin's theses at the conference. The discussion of the theses revealed three opinions in the party on the issue of concluding peace: **the Leninist point of view** of the need to accept the German conditions of peace (15 voted for it), **the "left communists"** - the declaration of a "revolutionary war" by Germany (32) and Trotsky - **"neither war, nor the world"** (16 people).

On January 11 (24), 1918, the question of peace was discussed at a meeting of the Party's Central Committee. **VI Lenin delivered a speech on peace.** He reiterated his arguments against the war, which he developed in the theses, and warned that if we refuse to sign peace with Germany and the Germans begin to attack, **we will be forced to sign peace on even worse conditions.** As a result of the discussion of the question of peace, **the proposal to wage a revolutionary war received only 2 votes**, 11 people voted against. When this proposal failed, **the "left communists" supported Trotsky.** As a result, **Trotsky's proposal "no war, no peace" received a majority of votes** at this meeting (for - 9, against - 7). Taking into account the lack of firm unity on the question of peace among the members of the Central Committee, **V. I. Lenin insisted on accepting his proposal** to drag out the peace negotiations in every possible way, up to the ultimatum of the Germans.

The question of peace was also discussed at the III All-Russian Congress of Soviets. On January 14 (27), 1918, at the suggestion of the Bolshevik faction, the congress adopted a resolution expressing full confidence in the Soviet government and approving all its activities aimed at concluding peace.

The supporters of the revolutionary war did not want to recognize the decisions of the Third Congress of Soviets. On January 15 (28), 1918, the **"left communists" headed by Bukharin and Pyatakov** submitted an application to the Central Committee of the party demanding the immediate convocation of a party conference for the final solution of the question of war and peace. The same statements were sent to the



Central Committee by "left communists", who constituted the majority in the executive committee of the Petersburg committee, and by a group of leading workers of the Ural party organization (Preobrazhensky, Krestinsky, Beloborodov, etc.).

The conference, since it would have been attended by representatives of the regional and provincial party committees, many of which supported the "left communists", could not reflect the opinion of the broad party masses, which in their overwhelming majority were supporters of the Leninist peace policy. In addition, **the decisions of the conference**, according to the Party Charter, were approved by the Central Committee and **could not be final**.

Therefore, Lenin considered it necessary to convene **not a conference, but a party congress in order to resolve the question of peace**. The issue of calling the conference was discussed at a meeting of the Central Committee on January 19 (February 1), 1918. The Central Committee accepted V. I. Lenin's proposal to convene a party congress. At a meeting of the Central Committee on January 24 (February 6), the order of the day of the congress was approved

The convocation of the VII Extraordinary Congress of the RCP (b) was preceded by a great deal of preparatory work carried out by the Central Committee of the Party, headed by V.I. Lenin. The preparations for the congress took place in an extremely difficult political situation. **Lenin's speech** with "Theses on the question of the immediate conclusion of a separate and annexationist peace" **provoked a furious anti-party agitation by Trotsky and the "left communists" against peace**. Speaking against V.I. Lenin and his policy of peace, they argued that Germany would not be able to attack, that the conclusion of peace with Germany would allegedly delay the revolution in Germany and would be a betrayal of the proletariat of the West and the Russian revolution. In January - February 1918, the internal party struggle over the question of peace captured a fairly wide range of party organizations.

The Party Committee of Sevastopol, the Western Oblast and Smolensk Committees of the RSDLP (b), Kozlovskaya, Kohomskaya and other party organizations, who considered the conclusion of

peace to be the only correct policy, expressed full confidence in the political line of the Central Committee of the Party and the Council of People's Commissars and demanded the immediate acceptance of the German conditions of peace ... A number of organizations - Kaluga, Aleksandrovskaya, Saratovskaya, Nikolaevskaya, Gorlovsko-Shcherbinovskaya and others at first supported the "left communists". The "Left Communists" succeeded in passing their resolutions against the Brest-Litovsk Peace also through a number of Soviets, including Moscow, Petrograd, Perm.

The struggle unfolding within the party over **the question of peace was based on deep fundamental differences on the fundamental questions of the socialist revolution.** Trotsky and the "left communists" were based on Trotskyist-Menshevik views on the nature and prospects of the revolution in Russia. They proceeded from Trotsky's notorious theory of permanent revolution and rejected Lenin's theory of the possibility of the victory of socialism initially in one country taken separately. At a meeting of the Central Committee on January 11 (24), 1918, Uritsky, for example, bluntly said that "the mistake of comrade. Lenin at the present moment is the same as in 1915 - namely, he looks at the matter from the point of view of Russia, and not from the point of view of the international. " **Believing that without the victory of the revolution in the West, the revolution in Russia would inevitably perish, Trotsky and the "left communists" did not believe in the revolutionary forces and capabilities of the Russian proletariat** and its ability to lead the multi-million masses of the working peasantry.

V. I. Lenin in his numerous speeches and works exposed the adventurous and disastrous for the Soviet Republic tactics of the "left communists" and Trotsky.

Lenin repeatedly stressed that when developing tactics, one should proceed from a comprehensive consideration of the concrete historical situation, and not repeat revolutionary slogans without taking into account objective circumstances and their changes in a sharp turn of events. The current situation dictated **the need to conclude peace at all costs.**

The working class and the working peasantry of Russia came to power in October 1917 in the country, which the landowners and capitalists had brought to the brink of national catastrophe, brought the national economy to general ruin, and threatened to be partitioned by the imperialist powers. Having headed the Soviet state, the Communist Party immediately after the Great October Socialist Revolution declared its right and sacred duty to selflessly defend the socialist fatherland from all attacks from enemies, to fight for the transformation of backward Russia into a powerful and all-powerful socialist state.

**VI Lenin repeatedly stressed that “we are defencists now,** since October 25, 1917, **we are for the defense of the fatherland from that day on.** For we have proved in practice our break with imperialism. We have terminated and published the dirty and bloody imperialist conspiracy treaties. We overthrew our bourgeoisie. We have given freedom to the peoples we oppressed. **We gave the land to the people and workers' control.** We are for the defense of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Russia”.

That is why V. I. **Lenin declared a merciless war on the revolutionary phrase** about the revolutionary war and demanded a serious attitude to the country's defense capability and combat training. **He considered it a crime,** from the point of view of defending the fatherland, to wage war with an infinitely more powerful enemy, when you did not have an army and a strong organized rear, **when socialism was still weak and when the chances for the victory of socialism were obviously unfavorable.** In these conditions, from the point of view of defending the fatherland, it is necessary to sign the most difficult peace, to do everything possible, to use the slightest chance to delay a decisive battle, “to evade a military battle - while it is possible, at least at the cost of grave sacrifices, to evade it - precisely for to be able to do something serious by the moment when the “last decisive battle” breaks out ”; For this, it is necessary to prepare for a long time, seriously, starting with the economic advancement of the country, with the establishment of transport, with the restoration of the strictest revolutionary discipline and self-discipline everywhere and everywhere.

The interests of defending the fatherland do not always presuppose an armed struggle, wrote V.I. Lenin; **they require the use of other forms of struggle, including diplomatic ones.** "If the enemy" proclaims "his goal to suppress the revolution, then the revolutionary is bad who, by choosing an obviously impossible form of resistance, just reaches the transition from" proclaiming "to the realization of the enemy's goals".

Lenin convincingly proved that the proletariat of Soviet Russia will best fulfill its internationalist duty **if it preserves and consolidates Soviet power** in order to defend the gains of the revolution and build socialism, even if only at the cost of concluding a difficult and humiliating peace. "A fundamental change now," wrote Lenin, "is the creation of a republic of Soviets of Russia, which is above all, both for us and from the international socialist point of view, the preservation of this republic, which has already begun the socialist revolution, that at this moment the slogan of a revolutionary war is on the part of Russia would mean either a phrase and a naked demonstration, or would objectively equate to falling into a trap set up for us by the imperialists, who want to drag us into the continuation of the imperialist war, as a still weak particle, and crush the young republic of Soviets as cheaply as possible".

**Under these conditions, it is necessary to get an immediate respite, at least for a short time.** Lenin considered it possible to give up space to the actual winner, to retreat into the interior of the country in order to gain time for gathering new forces, for increasing the country's defense capability.

As for the desire of the "left communists" to ignite the fire of the world revolution by means of a revolutionary war, Lenin pointed out that **this would mean a complete break with Marxism,** "which has always denied the" pushing "of revolutions developing as the acuteness of class contradictions revolution. Such a theory would be tantamount to the view that **an armed uprising is a form of struggle that is obligatory always and under all conditions.** In fact, the interests of the international revolution demand that the Soviet government, which overthrew the country's bourgeoisie, should help

this revolution, but **choose the form of assistance according to its strength.** "

VI Lenin proved the absurdity of another argument of the "left communists" about the inadmissibility of the Soviet state supposedly **concluding peace and agreements with imperialist states**. He wrote: "A socialist republic among the imperialist powers could not, from the point of view of such views, **conclude any economic agreements, could not exist without flying to the moon.**"

Rejecting the reproach that acceptance of the German conditions of peace was **an alleged betrayal** of Latvia, Poland, Courland, Lithuania, **Lenin exposed the inconsistency of this argument** from the point of view of revolutionary Marxism. Because of **the violation of the temper of nations for self-determination**, it is impermissible to give up the Soviet Socialist Republic to be devoured. "**Not a single Marxist,**" Lenin pointed out, **"without breaking with the foundations of Marxism and socialism in general, can deny that the interests of socialism are higher than the interests of the right of nations to self-determination."**

Speaking about the social nature of the "left communists", V. I. Lenin called them "declassified, intellectual party" tops "and tops", heroes of the revolutionary phrase. He wrote that the "left communists" are, but in their objective role, a tool of imperialist reaction, that their subjective "psychology" "is the psychology of an enraged petty bourgeois".

On January 17 (30), 1918, peace negotiations were resumed in Brest-Lptovsko. Before the departure of the Soviet delegation to Brest, **VI Lenin instructed Trotsky to drag out the peace negotiations and hold out until the ultimatum**, "after the ultimatum, we surrender"? that is, we immediately sign the Austro-German peace terms.

During the negotiations, the Soviet delegation tried to involve representatives of the All-Ukrainian CEC of Soviets in the negotiations. However, Germany rejected the Soviet proposal to recognize the powers of the delegation of the Soviet Ukraine and on January 27 (February 9) 1918, behind the back of Russia, signed a predatory treaty with the nationalist Ukrainian Central Rada, which

was living out its last days. It was essentially a treaty on the occupation of Ukraine by the Germans. On **January 27 (February 9), an ultimatum was presented to Soviet Russia** for the immediate recognition of the Austro-German conditions of peace. In response to Trotsky's request on how to respond to the ultimatum of the Germans, on **January 28 (February 10) a telegram was sent to Brest-Litovsk signed by Lenin and Stalin, which stated: "You know our point of view; it has only strengthened recently. "**

**Contrary** to the direct directive of V.I. Lenin to conclude peace, **Trotsky**, having no authority whatsoever, at a meeting of the political commission on January 28 (February 10) **announced that Soviet Russia did not sign the peace, it was ending the war, and would demobilize the army.** On January 29 (February 11), 1918, **this position was approved** by the Petrograd Soviet on the proposal of **Zinoviev**, and on February 14 (1) - by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee on the report of Trotsky.

**Trotsky's violation of Lenin's instructions played into the hands of the German imperialists**, who launched preparations for an offensive on the Russian front. On February 16, 1918, Germany, grossly violating the terms of the armistice agreement, according to which the contracting parties must warn each other seven days in advance, notified the Soviet delegation that from February 18 at 12 noon, Germany considered itself at war with Russia.

Even before the start of the offensive, the issue of the German ultimatum was discussed twice at a meeting of the Party's Central Committee - on the evening of February 17 and in the morning of February 18, 1918. **Lenin's proposal to immediately resume negotiations** with Germany and sign peace **was rejected at both sessions of the Central Committee.**

On the night of **February 18-19, 1918**, an appeal was sent on behalf of the Council of People's Commissars to the German government, in which the Soviet government protested **against the treacherous attack by Germany** and announced its agreement to sign a peace on the terms presented by the delegations of the Quadruple Alliance in Brest-Litovsk ...

The German government was deliberately slow to answer; German troops continued their offensive and **advanced deep into Russia**. At this critical moment, the party and the Soviet government appealed to the peoples of Russia to defend the Republic of Soviets. On February 21, 1918, the Council of People's Commissars adopted **Lenin's decree** "The socialist fatherland is in danger!", in which a detailed program of the struggle of the Soviet people against the hordes of imperialist Germany was given. Lenin's appeal caused a powerful patriotic upsurge in the country. The workers responded with a massive entry into the ranks of the Red Army. Poorly trained, but strong in revolutionary spirit, the detachments of the young Red Army staunchly **repelled the onslaught of the enemy and blocked the path of the German army**, which rushed through Pskov and Narva to Petrograd.

On the note of the Soviet government dated February 19, 1918, on the morning of **February 23**, a reply from Germany was received in Petrograd (dated February 21). The new peace conditions presented to Russia **were more difficult than the previous ones** and were of an ultimatum nature. On February 23, a meeting of the Party Central Committee took place. The question of accepting new peace conditions was discussed. VI Lenin firmly posed the question of the immediate acceptance of the German proposals. Lenin pointed out that **"the policy of revolutionary phrase-mongering is over,"** and **if this policy hinders the conclusion of peace**, then he **"leaves both the government and the Central Committee."** The "left communists" were against it. During the discussion, JV Stalin, who had previously supported VI Lenin, expressed the opinion that the new treaty "cannot be signed, but peace negotiations can be started."

**Lenin**, exposing the "left communists", sharply criticized the erroneous position of Stalin, after which **Stalin at the same meeting spoke in favor of Lenin's proposal**. Lomov, speaking at the meeting, said that **it was necessary to take power without Lenin**. As a result of a stormy discussion by a majority of 7 votes (**Lenin, Stasova, Sverdlov, Stalin, Zinoviev, Sokolnikov, Smilga**), against 4 (**Bubnov, Uritsky, Bukharin, Lomov**), with 4 abstentions (Trotsky, Krestinsky, Dzerzhinsky, Ioffe) Central committee accepted V.I. Lenin's proposal

for the conclusion of peace. After the decision was made, the "left communists" **Bukharin**, Lomov, Uritsky, Bubnov, Pyatakov, Smirnov, Yakovleva, not wanting to reckon with the demands of party discipline, **submitted an application to the Central Committee to resign** from responsible party and Soviet posts and demanded for themselves **the right to free agitation against** the decision Of the Central Committee. It was decided to inform all members of the party about the sharp disagreements within the Central Committee on the issue of concluding peace. On February 24, 1918, the Central Committee in its letter "The position of the Central Committee of the RSDLP (Bolsheviks) on the question of a separate and annexationist peace" set out the reasons for the disagreements between the majority of the Central Committee and a group of opponents of peace, the reasons that prompted the Central Committee to sign a separate peace with Germany, and called on all party members support the decision of the Central Committee.

The proposal to conclude the Brest-Litovsk peace treaty on February 24, 1918 at 4:30 a.m. was adopted by a majority of votes at a plenary meeting of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, then by the Council of People's Commissars and on behalf of the Soviet government was submitted to the German government.

On the same day, the Central Committee approved the composition of the Soviet peace delegation, which left for Brest-Litovsk in the evening. Peace talks resumed on March 1. On March 3, 1918, the peace treaty was signed.

On March 5, 1918, in his article "A Serious Lesson and Serious Responsibility", exposing the position of the "Left Communists" taken by them on the issue of war and peace, and analyzing the terms of the new treaty, V. I. Lenin wrote: "And what are **the new conditions, harder, more humiliating than the thin, difficult and humiliating Brest conditions**, this is to blame, in relation to the Great Russian Soviet Republic, our unfortunate "left" Bukharin, Lomov, Uritsky and Co ... "" You were given Brest conditions, and you answered **fanfare and bragging, leading to worse conditions**. It is a fact. **You will not relieve yourself of responsibility for this.** "



The "**Left Communists**", having suffered defeat in the Central Committee and the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, **led a line on splitting the party**, attracted part of the local party organizations to their side and tried to oppose them to the Central Committee of the party. **Trotsky and the "left communists" tried by all means to disrupt the ratification of the peace treaty.** On February 24, the day when the decision to conclude the Brest Peace was taken by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars, the Moscow Regional Bureau of the RSDLP (b), headed by "left communists", at a meeting of a narrow composition **adopted a resolution** in which it expressed **no confidence in the political line of the Central Committee** and refused to obey all its decisions related to the implementation of the terms of the peace treaty. An "explanatory text" was attached to the resolution, in which the Moscow Regional Bureau indicated that **the split in the party could hardly be eliminated** and that, allegedly, in the interests of the international revolution, **it was necessary to take the possibility of losing Soviet power**, which seemed to be becoming purely formal. VI Lenin sharply condemned the position taken by the Moscow Regional Bureau and called this decision "**strange and monstrous**". Following the Moscow Regional Bureau, resolutions against peace were adopted by the Moscow City and Moscow District Committees of the RSDLP (b), the Ural Regional Committee, a joint meeting of active workers of the RSDLP (b) in Kharkov and Donbass, and other party organizations.

However, these decisions did not reflect the opinion of not only the entire party, but also the opinion of those party organizations on whose behalf they were adopted. **The German offensive**, which began on February 18 and lasted until the signing of the peace treaty, very soon sobered the party committees, whose leadership was "left communists", and the party organizations temporarily under the influence of "left communists" **from the frenzy of revolutionary phrases**. Party organizations in the workers' districts of Moscow, Petrograd, the Urals, and others ardently supported Lenin's policy of concluding peace with Germany. On March 4, **under the influence of the working masses**, the Moscow City Committee of the RSDLP (b) abandoned its previous position. By **10 votes in favor, against 7**, the

MK adopted a resolution approving the peace treaty. On the same day, the signing of the peace by a majority vote was approved by the Moscow City Conference of the RSDLP (b). A member of the Central Committee of the party, Y. M. Sverdlov, who had arrived in Moscow on behalf of the Central Committee, spoke in defense of Lenin's policy of peace. Obolensky and Pokrovsky sharply criticized the policy of the peace advocates at the conference. However, the **conference sharply condemned "isolated attempts to split"** on the part of the "left communists", expressed confidence in the Central Committee of the party and instructed its delegates to the 7th party congress **"to defend the unity of the party at all costs"**. 65 people voted for the resolution supporting peace, **46 against**. The resolution of Obolensky, expressing no confidence in the policy of the Central Committee, received only **5 votes**. The factional activity of the "left communists" on the issue of concluding peace was condemned by the party organizations of the workers' districts of Petrograd - Vyborgsky, Vasileostrovsky, First and Second urban districts. The general meeting of the Second Urban District, in its decision, demanded from its delegates elected to the VII Party Congress "to support the line of the majority of the Central Committee." "The Petrograd Committee, as not reflecting the views of the St. Petersburg organization, must be re-elected", - stated in the decision. **The meeting decided to close down the factional newspaper Kommunist, which was leading to a split in the party.** A similar decision was made by a party conference at the Petrograd District Committee. The Leninist position of the world was approved by the party conference of the Baku organization, the general meeting of the Ufa party organization, the Yekaterinoslav committee of the RSDLP (b), etc. These decisions testified to the complete isolation of the group of "left communists" from the lower party organizations, from the broad popular masses.

The decision of the Central Committee and the Soviet government to immediately sign peace with Germany found a response and support also from the local Soviets. On the request of the Council of People's Commissars dated February 25, 1918 to the local councils and land committees about their attitude to the issue of signing the peace, answers began to arrive literally on the second day. By March 5, **262** Councils had voted in favor of peace, against **233**. The Soviets

of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies of Moscow, Petrograd, Arkhangelsk, Voronezh, Orel, Ryazan, and other cities of Russia, even those of them that earlier, without understanding the difficult situation, opposed the signing of peace with Germany, on the eve of the VII Party Congress, unanimously spoke out for peace. The anti-party position of the "left communists" was defeated.

Trotsky and a group of "left communists", deprived of support in most party organizations, on the eve of the congress intensified the struggle against peace, they hoped **to form an "opposition" at the congress itself**, get the support of a part of the congress delegates and thwart the Central Committee's decision to conclude the Brest-Litovsk peace treaty. A.S. Bubnov stated this directly at a meeting of the expanded plenum of the Moscow Regional Bureau on March 2. **"At the congress it is necessary to form a group of supporters of the revolutionary war,"** he said, "which must oppose the position of the Central Committee with a fundamental justification of its point of view." IN Stukov made the same statement at the meeting.

Openly going for a split, the **"left communists" came out with their political platform in the press.** On March 6, their organ "Communist" published an appeal "To All Party Members", in which they, covering up their anti-party behavior with "revolutionary phrases", tried to discredit the policy of V. I. Lenin and the majority of the Central Committee on the issue of concluding peace with Germany ... A sharp struggle lay ahead. But it was clear that the Leninist line was supported by the main body of the party, which predetermined the outcome of the struggle at the congress.

The VII Extraordinary Congress of the RCP (B) was held in Petrograd on **March 6-8, 1918.** By the time the congress was convened, the **party had about 300,000 members;** the Congress was attended by 47 delegates with a casting vote and 59 with an advisory vote, representing about 170,000 party members. This is due to the fact that the congress was convened urgently and a number of party organizations did not have time to send their delegates, and some party organizations did not have the opportunity to do this, due to the occupation of part of the territory of Soviet Russia by the Germans. Finally, the relatively small number of delegates at the congress is

explained by the high rate of representation at the congress. One delegate was sent from party organizations of 3 to 5 thousand party members. Party organizations numbering more than 5 thousand sent an additional delegate for every 5 thousand. Organizations that did not have 3,000 party members could unite and jointly send one delegate.

Both before and after the congress, the **“Left Communists” tried to belittle its significance in every possible way**, to portray it as not particularly “authoritative both in terms of the number of members represented at it, and the number of delegates who had gathered”. But neither during the congress, nor after it ended, they failed to discredit him.

Despite the small number of delegates, the congress was competent. Its representation was in accordance with the decision of the Central Committee, according to which at least half of the party members represented at the previous, VI Congress of the RSDLP (b) should be represented at the VII Congress of the RCP (b), and the Party Regulations adopted by the VI Congress, paragraph 10 of which states that **“A congress is considered valid if at least half of all party members are represented at it”**. The largest party organizations were represented at the congress - Moscow, Petrograd, party organizations of the Central industrial region, the Urals, the Volga region, etc.

The congress was also authoritative in terms of party experience. All congress delegates (except one) had pre-October party experience. Moreover, more than half of the delegates joined the party in the period from 1895 to 1907.

On the eve of the opening of the congress, a preliminary meeting of the delegates was held, at which the issue of the competence of the congress was resolved, the order of the day and the rules of its work were approved, the questionnaire of the congress delegate was adopted.

The congress approved the following order of the day, adopted by the preliminary meeting: 1) the report of the Central Committee, 2) the question of war and peace, 3) revision of the program and the name

of the party, 4) organizational issues, and 5) elections of the Central Committee.

During the work of the congress, the order of the day was somewhat changed. The political report of the Central Committee and the question of war and peace merged into one question - **a report on war and peace**. The organizational issue was not discussed at the congress due to lack of time.

The work of the congress was directed by V. I. Lenin. **He spoke at the congress 18 times**, including with reports on all the main issues of the order of the day - with the political report of the Central Committee of the party, in which he comprehensively covered the second issue of the order of the day - about war and peace; on the revision of the program and the name of the party, and also took an active part in the discussion of the issues considered by the congress.

In his report on war and peace, V.I. Lenin gave a deep scientific analysis of the international and internal situation in the country, showed **the objective reasons** for the relatively easy victory of the working class of Russia in October 1917, outlined the tasks of an organizational and constructive nature that faced the Communist Party as the leading the strength of the Soviet state.

The main part of Lenin's report was devoted to the defense and substantiation of the decision of the Central Committee of the Party and the Soviet government to immediately sign the gravest and most humiliating peace with Germany and **to expose the position of Trotsky and the "left communists" on the issue of war and peace**.

In his report on war and peace, Lenin showed that the predatory imperialist war had brought Russia to complete economic ruin; railway transport is paralyzed, unemployment and poverty are growing. The country lacks a combat-ready army that could defend the gains of Soviet power. The old army, disorganized by the war, had to be demobilized, and the new, socialist army, had just begun to be created.

There is also no strong rear capable of helping the front. The workers and peasants are tired of the three-year war and demand rest, they

realized that with such a state of the army and the economic situation of the country, it is impossible to wage a war with an enemy prepared and armed to the teeth. Without serious preparation, Russia cannot fight, said V. I. Lenin, **"we won't take the "German predator" with a bang, we won't throw it off,** as we overthrew Kerensky and Kornilov. Lenin called the position of the "left communists" "gentry", their newspaper, which **bears the name "Communist", should have been nicknamed "Shlyakhtich"** - Lenin pointed out, "they reason from the point of view of the gentry, who, dying **in a beautiful pose** with a sword in hand, says: "Peace is a shame, war is an honor." While defending the slogan of "revolutionary war," the "left communists" **did not realize that they were helping German imperialism.**

**Lenin showed the utter groundlessness of the argument of Trotsky** and the "left communists" against the world, that the Germans would not be able to go on the offensive for fear of provoking an uprising of the German workers in defense of the Russian revolution. Life has shown, Lenin pointed out, that the excuse **"German cannot attack" was the greatest adventure;** that "the European revolution, against our wishes, dared to be late, and German imperialism, against our wishes, dared to advance" and within a few days the **Germans occupied a significant part of the territory of Russia,** seized millions of the country's wealth.

Lenin sharply criticized **Trotsky's adventurous formula "no war, no peace."** "Instead of the Peace of Brest-Litovsk we got a much more humiliating peace, through **the fault of those who did not take it,"** said V. I. Lenin.

V. I. Lenin called on the party and the working class, using the moment while the imperialists are in a stranglehold and cannot attack Soviet Russia with all their might, **fight for self-discipline,** exemplary order, learn to fight every day and "if we can act like this, then despite our defeat, we can say with absolute certainty that we will win. "

The discussion of VI Lenin's report at the congress took on the character of an acute internal party struggle. Eighteen delegates took

the floor in the debate. Y. M. Sverdlov, Sergeev (Artem) and a number of delegates from the localities spoke out in defense of Lenin's position. It is characteristic that during the discussion at the congress of the question of war and peace, many delegates, influenced mainly by the speeches of V. I. Lenin, reconsidered their erroneous position, resolutely opposed factionalism, for the unity of the party. A striking example of this is a note submitted to the presidium of the congress by H. H. Kochubei, a delegate with a decisive vote from the Yuzov party organization. On the forty-fourth question of the Congress delegate's questionnaire - - what is your organization's attitude to the issue of war and peace - Kochubei answered: "The issue was not discussed in the organization before my departure. I stand in the position of Bukharin's group. " **After hearing the report of V.I. Lenin**, convinced of the correctness of the Leninist policy of the party, Kochubey wrote in a note to the presidium that his point of view at the congress was in the minority, that the decisions of the congress should be the most unanimous, therefore he "votes for the resolution proposed by comrade Lenin ".

The speech at the congress of the delegate with the decisive vote of Maskov-Yaremchuk was similar in content. During the Brest Peace, the Ural Regional Committee was led by "left communists". Contrary to the Party Charter, which does not allow imperative mandates, they gave instructions to the Ural delegates **to vote against the conclusion of a peace treaty**. After hearing Lenin's report at the congress, Maskov became convinced that peace is necessary. In his speech, he said that when he was going to the congress, he had "more explosives" against Lenin's line "more than Ryazanov." **Now** he realized that the decision of the question "**to be or not to be Soviet power**" depends on the conclusion of a separate peace with Germany, that now, more than ever, the unity of the party is needed, and therefore "the tactics of signing the peace are correct, although the Ural comrades did not authorize me to say this."

Delegate of the congress OI Rozanova (Yaroslavl) said that right up to the discussion of VI Lenin's theses on the issue of concluding a separate and annexationist peace with Germany, the Yaroslavl party organization took a "left communist" position. When discussing

Lenin's theses, they realized that **"revolutionary fervor and enthusiasm is not enough**, that real preparation must be carried out." Bukharin's speech is unconvincing, said Rozanova. In Yaroslavl, "the same arguments were presented by the 'Left' Socialist-Revolutionaries," who were **supported by the Mensheviks**. She qualified Ryazanov's speech at the congress as Menshevik.

KI Shelavin spoke at the congress about the sharp turn of the broad party masses of Petrograd towards peace. He stressed that this turnaround took place only two weeks ago, after the workers realized the whole **"imminent danger of a German invasion."** We have before us one way, Shelavin pointed out, this is "the way of concluding peace, its ratification."

The "Left Communists" tried at the congress to prevent the victory of the Leninist policy of the Central Committee on the question of peace. On the report on war and peace, they singled out **Bukharin as a co-rapporteur**. In addition, during the discussion of the issue, they demanded a break in order to break up into factions and find out: who is for and who is against peace. **Their proposal was rejected by the congress**. In the co-report, **Bukharin**, as before, tried to defend and substantiate the adventurous position of an immediate war against Germany; The Brest-Litovsk peace treaty, adopted by the Central Committee of the party, he characterized as "surrender along the entire front, surrender outside, surrender inside", as "an attempt to partition Russia" and **demanding the annulment of this treaty**.

Uritsky, Bubnov, Ryazanov, Obolensky, Saprionov, and others spoke out against the ratification of the peace treaty, in defense of Bukharin's position at the congress, "maintenance of the proletarian government; by concluding a treaty, the Soviet government signs 'itself a death sentence'. Bubnov, **defending the slogan of a revolutionary war**, tried to prove that the conclusion of peace would deal **a blow to the cause of the international proletariat**, that the proletariat was supposedly faced with the task of **"developing a civil war on an international scale"**, that this was not a fantastic, but quite real task.

**Trotsky defended the position "neither war, nor peace"** at the congress. He tried in every possible way to justify **his anti-Leninist**



**position in Brest.** Developing capitulatory, Menshevik views, Trotsky declared at the congress that **Russia would not build socialism with its internal forces**, that "Soviet power is too heavy a burden for the proletariat, that we came too early and must go underground." He argued that the **European proletariat was riper than the Russian one for socialism** and that it would help the proletariat of Russia.

**Trotsky was supported by Radek** at the congress.

At the morning session of the congress on March 8, V.I. Lenin made a concluding speech on the report on war and peace. Summing up the results of the speeches at the congress, he emphasized that the splitting activity of the "left communists" caused enormous harm to the party. **Lenin sharply criticized Trotsky's speech.**

Having unanimously approved the report of the Central Committee, the congress began to discuss the resolution on the question of war and peace.

Two resolutions were submitted for voting — a draft resolution by V. I. Lenin and "Theses on the Present Time", proposed as a resolution by the "left communists". The **theses of the "left communists" were immediately rejected** by the congress; the draft resolution of V.I. Lenin was adopted as a basis.

During the discussion of Lenin's resolution, Ryazanov made a disorganizing proposal, demanding that the text be removed from the resolution, which speaks of **increasing self-discipline and discipline among workers and peasants**. The congress rejected this amendment. After the congress adopted Lenin's resolution, **Ryazanov announced his resignation** from the party. **Trotsky introduced an amendment** to the resolution demanding that the Soviet government be prohibited from concluding a peace treaty with the Ukrainian Rada and the bourgeois government of Finland. This amendment deprived the Central Committee of the possibility of free maneuvering in the implementation of the peace policy. **V.I. Lenin opposed it. The amendment was rejected.**

Instead of Trotsky's amendment, the congress adopted an addendum to the resolution proposed by V.I. Lenin, which gave the Central Committee **broad powers in canceling the Brest-Litovsk peace treaty** and **prohibited** the publication of the congress resolution on war and peace in the press.

With a majority of votes: for - 30, against - 12, with 4 - abstaining by rollcall, the congress adopted the resolution of V.I. Lenin.

After the adoption of the resolution on the question of war and peace, Krestinsky and Ioffe introduced an **additional resolution approving Trotsky's activity** as the head of the Soviet peace delegation and **his failure to sign a peace treaty** with Germany on January 28 (February 10). This resolution clearly denied the decision just adopted by the Congress and was rejected after discussion. **Trotsky, threatening to resign from positions of responsibility, demanded that the congress approve his statement** in Brest on the refusal to sign the peace and on the demobilization of the army. But these demands of Trotsky, who was trying to cross out the peace resolution already adopted by the congress, were also **resolutely rejected by the congress**.

On the second issue of the order of the day - the revision of the program and the name of the party - at the evening session of the congress on March 8, 1918, V.I. Lenin made a speech.

Already in the April Theses, V. I. Lenin raised the question of changing the name of the party and revising the party program. The program had to reflect the changes that occurred as a result of the entry of capitalism into the last stage of its development - imperialism, as well as a result of the overthrow of the autocracy in Russia in February 1917 and **to define the tasks of the party in the new conditions of the transition to the socialist revolution**. An important role in the preparation of the new program was played by the decisions of the VII (April) conference and the VI Congress of the RSDLP (b). The fundamental program documents were the special works of VI Lenin "Materials for the revision of the party program", "For the revision of the party program" and "Rough sketch of the draft program".

With the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, radical changes took place not only in Russia, but throughout the world. In Russia, the capitalist system was destroyed, a socialist state of workers and peasants was created - the state of the proletarian dictatorship, the creation of a new, socialist society began. Having broken through the front of imperialism in Russia, the Great October Socialist Revolution marked the beginning of a new era in the history of mankind - the era of the collapse of capitalism and the establishment of communism. **The main tasks set by the program adopted at the Second Party Congress in 1903 were accomplished.** The party became the leading and guiding force of the Soviet state. We needed a new program and a new name for the party.

In his April Theses and in his report at the VII Congress, V. I. Lenin **suggested giving a new name to the party instead of the RSDLP (Bolsheviks): "Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks)".** This name of the party, said V. I. Lenin, is the only **scientifically correct one**, for it accurately reflects the goal towards which, in the end, the initiated **socialist transformations are directed** - "precisely the goal of creating a communist society". In addition, the new name of the party also testified to the fact that it, which had long broken in essence, was breaking all ties and formally with the Social Democracy, whose official leaders around the world had betrayed the working class by becoming servants of the bourgeoisie.

At the beginning of the Congress, the delegates received a "Rough Sketch of the Draft Program," written by V. I. Lenin and used as the basis for his report at the Congress. V. I. Lenin gave a substantiation of the theoretical, political, and practical parts of the program. He stressed that **"the program of the Marxist party must proceed from absolutely precisely established facts."** Objection to those who, like N. Bukharin and V. Smirnov, **suggested deleting** the theoretical part of the old program, V. I. Lenin reminded that the development of exchange and commodity production led to capitalism, and capitalism grew into imperialism. Therefore, staying on the basis of facts, one should preserve the theoretical part of the old program with the characteristics of simple commodity production and capitalism,

supplementing it with the characteristics of the era of imperialism and the beginning of the era of socialist revolution.

V.I. Lenin considered it necessary in the party program to characterize and scientifically substantiate the **Soviet form of the state of the proletarian dictatorship as a new type of state in the transitional period from capitalism to socialism**, as well as an accurate description of the first economic transformations of Soviet power with a specific statement of the immediate tasks arising from already taken practical steps of expropriation of expropriators.

Stressing that **Russia is only at the first transitional stage from capitalism to socialism**, V.I. Lenin did not consider it possible to abandon **all the requirements of the minimum program**, as N. Bukharin and V. Smirnov had proposed before the congress, and N. Bukharin. "We must now," said Lenin, "instead of the old program, write a new program of Soviet power, **without in the least renouncing the use of bourgeois parliamentarism**." Objection to R. Pelshe who suggested not to mention the use of parliamentary forms of struggle in the program, V. I. Lenin pointed out: **"In no case should we pretend that we do not value bourgeois parliamentary institutions at all**. They are a huge step forward in comparison with the previous one ... **we cannot open the way for a purely anarchist denial of bourgeois parliamentarism"**.

This statement by V. I. Lenin provided and continues to provide great assistance to the international communist movement in its struggle against the "left" sectarians who deny the need to use the bourgeois parliament in the interests of the revolution.

**Lenin strongly opposed Bukharin's proposal** to give in the new program "a characterization of the socialist system in its expanded form, to characterize communism", to say about the destruction of "any political superstructure", "political power as such."

Objection to Bukharin, Lenin said that **"the bricks have not yet been created, from which socialism will be formed"**, and **"what socialism will be when it reaches ready-made forms, we do not know, we cannot say this"**, that **"to proclaim the abolition of the state in advance would be a violation historical perspective"**.

These Leninist theses have been brilliantly confirmed by the world-historical experience of the Soviet people's struggle for the victory of socialism in the USSR and have not lost their significance at the present stage of the international revolutionary movement, when the newly-minted revisionists, repeating Bukharin, **insist on the need for the immediate withering away of the socialist state**. The Program of the CPSU, adopted by the 22nd Party Congress, emphasizes that peoples can come to socialism only as a result of the implementation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, that the socialist state serves as the main instrument of the socialist transformation of society, and **"for the complete withering away of the state, it is necessary to create both internal conditions - building a developed socialist society and external conditions — the victory and consolidation of socialism in the international arena "**.

The Seventh Party Congress resolutely rebuffed Bukharin's opportunist forays, adopted the resolution proposed by V. I. Lenin "On changing the name of the party and the party program."

To develop the party program, a commission headed by V.I. Lenin was created, which was instructed in preparing the party program to be guided by Lenin's resolution adopted by the congress.

Before the adoption of the program by the VIII Congress of the RCP (b), Lenin's draft program was the main program document of the party. At the request of the Novgorod Provincial Committee of the RCP (b) to send them immediately the party program, the Central Committee in a letter dated April 26, 1918 replied that the party program was being developed and that it was guided by "rough sketches of the program of comrade Lenin, which, in addition, we are applying ".

An **extremely acute situation arose** at the congress during the discussion of the last issue of the order of the day — **the election of the Central Committee**. The "Left Communists" initially refused to take part in the elections to the Central Committee, and only after the congress condemned this splitting move, they took part in the voting, insisting, however, on their refusal to join the Central Committee. This

question was transferred to a meeting of the plenum of the Central Committee.

By closed ballot, the Central Committee was elected by a congress consisting of **15 members of the Central Committee and 8 candidates.**

The **VII Extraordinary Congress of the RCP (Bolshevik) was of tremendous historical significance.** The resolution of V. I. Lenin "On War and Peace", adopted by the Congress, summed up the struggle of the Leninist majority of the Central Committee and the entire party for the revolutionary withdrawal of Russia from the imperialist war, approved the basic principles of the foreign policy of the Soviet state, developed by V. I. Lenin, outlined the primary tasks of the party in building socialism and strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia in the interests of the working people of all countries.

Assessing the significance of the Brest-Litovsk peace treaty, V. I. Lenin wrote: "**Thanks to the peace achieved**, despite all its burdens and all its fragility, the Russian Soviet Republic gets the opportunity for a certain time to concentrate its forces on the most important and most difficult side of the socialist revolution, namely, on an organizational task".

The IV Extraordinary All-Russian Congress of Soviets gathered in Moscow at a meeting on March 15, 1918, recognizing the correct policy of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars on the issue of war and peace, **by a majority of 784 votes**, against 261, with 115 abstentions, adopted the resolution of V.I. Lenin on the ratification of the Brest-Litovsk peace treaty. The "left communists" also abstained from voting, who, **contrary to the decision** of the Central Committee of the party of March 15, 1918, prohibiting the submission of a separate declaration to the congress, announced at the congress a special declaration explaining the reasons for their abstaining from voting. The resolution of the IV All-Russian Congress of Soviets on the ratification of the peace treaty with Germany was supported by the

Second All-Ukrainian Congress of Soviets (for **408 votes, against - 308**).

The decisions of the VII Party Congress during March - April 1918 were widely discussed in local party organizations. At the party meetings that took place after the congress, the delegates of the congress Y.M. Sverdlov, M.S. Sergushev, O.I. Rozanova, S.S. Moiseev, F.I. they carried ideas of peace into the very midst of the party masses. The speech of the delegate of the VII Congress of Fedorovsky at the meeting of the party organization of the City District of Nizhny Novgorod on March 24, 1918 was imbued with special trust and respect for V. I. Lenin and his peace policy. "The word of Lenin, the greatest leader of our party, was decisive, it was that very word, before which all the speeches of the orators paled, and which made an extraordinary impression in the eyes of the Congress."

The decisions of the VII Congress were fully approved by the largest party organizations of the Central Industrial Region, which were part of the Moscow Regional Bureau of the RCP (b) - Yaroslavskaya Gorodskaya, Sormovskaya, Kanavinskaya, Nizhegorodskaya, etc.; party organizations of the Urals - Chelyabinsk, Nizhne-Tagilskaya, etc. The Petrograd organization of the RCP (b) expressed its protest against the **splitting activity of the "left communists"**. "The St. Petersburg Committee, chosen by a random small majority of delegates and pursuing a policy of splitting into broad working masses due to tactical differences, should be re-elected as not expressing the opinion of the majority of the party" city of Petrograd. Attempts to split on March 20 were sharply condemned at the Extraordinary City Petrograd Conference of the RCP (b). Recognizing the policy of the St. Petersburg Committee on the issue of concluding a peace treaty "deeply mistaken", the conference decided to stop publishing "Kommunist", to demand from the supporters of the "revolutionary war" "an end to the isolated organizational existence."

On April 4, 1918, the decisions of the VII Party Congress were approved by the Northern Regional Conference of the RCP (b).

On March 24, 1918, the ratification of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty was approved by the 7th Moscow Regional Conference of the RCP (b), V.I. Lenin's theses on the current political situation as a resolution for the current moment were adopted: May 13 - Moscow City Conference, May 14 - Moscow regional and 15 May - Moscow regional conference of the RCP (b).

The anti-party position of Trotsky and the "left communists" was dealt a crushing blow.

However, even after the 7th Congress of the RCP (b), the "left communists" in some party organizations, continuing their factional splitting activity, opposed the decision of the congress to ratify the peace treaty.

On March 9, 1918, the "left communists" who were part of the Petersburg Committee of the RCP (b), in their address "To all party members" declared the decision of the congress "deeply mistaken." They counted on their support from the entire Petrograd party organization. However, as indicated above, the Petrograd Conference, which met on March 20, 1918, condemning the "left communists", and declared that the PK policy "could in no way be the policy of the Petrograd organization of the Communist Party."

The leaders of the Moscow Regional Bureau also went to an open break with the party. With the aim of disintegrating the party ranks, they sent their representatives to the provinces that were part of MOE, trying to carry out their decisions there. On April 28, at the suggestion of Lomov, the Ivanovo-Voznesensk city conference of the RCP (b) adopted a "left-communist" resolution recognizing the "policy of the" majority "of the party as wrong"; On May 10, a similar resolution was adopted at the suggestion of Bukharin at the Ivanovo-Kineshma regional conference of the RCP (b) and on May 13 - at the Yaroslavl citywide conference of the RCP (b) at the suggestion of Yakovleva. Influenced by the demagoguery of the "left communists", the IV Ural Regional Conference, held on April 25-29, recognized the tactics of implementing the Brest Treaty as "unacceptable and disastrous". Safarov, who spoke at the conference, called the agreement "Brest paper". After the conference, the Ural Regional Committee sent a



telegram to the IV Moscow Regional Conference (held May 14-17, 1918) demanding to join the decision of the Ural Regional Conference on the immediate convocation of a broad party congress. The Moscow Regional Conference rejected this proposal, recognizing "the immediate convocation of a new party congress inappropriate", and called on all party members to "strict party disciplined and close-knit work under the leadership of the Central Committee".

The "Left Communists" failed to thwart the decisions of the 7th Congress and split the ranks of the party.

Signing a difficult and humiliating peace, V. I. Lenin believed in its fragility and fragility. He knew that the ratification of the Brest-Litovsk Peace would meet with the broadest support of the popular masses both in Russia and in the capitalist countries, that the policy of Soviet power would show all oppressed humanity the way to fight for a way out of the imperialist war.

During the struggle for the conclusion of the Brest Peace, the Communist Party enriched the world communist movement with valuable experience in adapting the tactics of the revolutionary proletariat to any change in the conditions for the development of the revolution, the use of various forms of struggle against the forces of external and internal counter-revolution. It provided examples of skillful maneuvering up to an organized retreat in front of a stronger and more experienced enemy at a time when his forces are obviously superior in order to prepare with the greatest energy a new offensive against the enemy. "To accept a battle when it is deliberately beneficial to the enemy, and not to us," wrote V. I. Lenin, "is a crime, and such politicians of the revolutionary class are useless if they cannot make "maneuvering, compromise, compromises" in order to evade a deliberately unprofitable battle ".

The Brest-Litovsk Peace was, in a certain sense, a compromise with the German imperialists, but just in such a situation and such a compromise, which, according to Lenin's definition, was obligatory. The Party yielded to the violence of the German imperialists only after the peace was thwarted by the Entente imperialists. At the same time, having concluded the Brest Peace, the party skillfully used the

contradictions within the imperialist camp as a kind of reserve of the state of the proletarian dictatorship in its struggle to consolidate the gains of the Great October Socialist Revolution and increase the country's defense capability. "Brest is remarkable for the fact that for the first time on a gigantic scale, amidst immense difficulties, we were able to use the contradictions between the imperialists so that socialism ultimately won". Analyzing the experience accumulated by the party during its existence, including during the period of the Brest-Litovsk Peace, V.I., from agreements and compromises with a possible, even temporary, fragile, shaky, conditional ally. "After the first socialist revolution of the proletariat, after the overthrow of the bourgeoisie in one country," wrote VI Lenin, "the proletariat of this country remains weaker for a long time than the bourgeoisie, simply because of its enormous international ties, and then because of the spontaneous and constant restoration, the revival of capitalism and the bourgeoisie by small commodity producers that overthrew the bourgeoisie of the country. Defeating a more powerful enemy is possible only with the greatest exertion of forces and with the obligatory, most careful, caring, careful, skillful use, like any, even the slightest, "crack" between enemies, any opposition of interests between the bourgeoisie of different countries, between different groups or types of the bourgeoisie within individual countries - and any, even the slightest, opportunity to get a massive ally, even a temporary, shaky, fragile, unreliable, conditional. Whoever did not understand this, he did not understand a single grain of Marxism and scientific, modern, socialism in general "

Life has confirmed the full perspicacity of Lenin's policy. The conclusion of the Brest Peace Treaty gave Soviet Russia a respite. A peaceful respite was used by the party to consolidate Soviet power, to strengthen the alliance of the working class and the working peasantry, to create a Red Army capable of defending the Socialist fatherland from the imperialist invaders.

Lenin's prediction about the fragility of the Brest Peace was confirmed. In November 1918, a revolution broke out in Germany. Wilhelm II's government was overthrown. Power passed into the hands of the Soviets of Workers 'and Sailors' Deputies. The Soviet

government on November 13, 1918, by a resolution of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, annulled the predatory peace treaty and proclaimed, "true peace - a world union of working people of all countries and nations!"

The verbatim report of the 7th Party Congress was first published by the Istpart of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) in 1923 under the editorship of a special commission created by the Central Committee of the Party. The publication was based on the transcript of the sessions of the Congress. In 1928 it was also republished by the Istpart of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b). In the text of the 1928 edition, a number of additions from the secretary's notes were included to clarify or develop the speaker's thought. All of these additions were given in the text in square brackets.

The basis of this edition of the verbatim record of the VII Congress of the RCP (b) is the text of the first edition of 1923, carefully verified with the verbatim records of the sessions of the Congress kept in the Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism under the Central Committee of the CPSU, edited by the editorial commission of the Central Committee (f. 40, op. I, items 6) and genuine secretarial notes, which were kept at the sessions of the congress simultaneously by six secretaries appointed by the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the RSDLP (b) (items 1-5). The secretarial notes are very short and not all have been found, for some meetings there are only 2-4 notes.

Taking into account the authenticity of the secretarial notes, as well as the fact that the reports on the work of the 7th stage were published in the Bolshevik press on the basis of these notes, the editorial board considered it possible in this edition to add the text from the secretarial notes supplementing the congress transcript without brackets. In addition, the texts of the secretaries' notes were also used in footnotes for a more complete presentation of the speeches of delegates speaking at the congress.

A number of additions to the transcript are published for the first time.

There is no list of delegates to the Congress in the funds of the VII Party Congress. Based on the study of documentary materials of the

congress (registration lists with the personal signature of delegates, partially preserved mandates, and questionnaires of delegates), as well as decisions of local party conferences on the election of delegates to the VII Congress of the RCP (b), the list of delegates in this publication has been significantly expanded and corrected in comparison with a list in previous editions. Twenty new names have been added to the casting list, 17 of which are being reintroduced and 3 have been moved from other lists. From the list of delegates with a casting vote, 16 people who were mistakenly included in this list were moved to the list of delegates with an advisory vote. The list of delegates with an advisory vote includes 36 new names, 12 of them again, 16 from the list with a casting vote and 8 from other lists. The names of delegates, newly included in the list with a casting and advisory vote, are marked in the list with one asterisk (\*). The names of delegates who, in previous editions of the minutes, were mistakenly entered on the voting or advisory lists, are marked with two asterisks (\*\*) and three asterisks (\*\*\*) —from the guest list or with an unclear right to vote.

Compared with the previous ones, this edition of the verbatim report has been supplemented with new documents and materials related to the congress showing the enormous work done by the Central Committee headed by V.I. Lenin in preparing on the conclusion of the Brest-Litovsk peace treaty on the eve and after the work of the VII Party Congress. The publication includes documents from local party organizations, as well as documents from the "left communists".

**This edition of the verbatim record contains a new section, "Materials of the Congress".** The section includes documents of V. I. Lenin: **a rough outline of the draft program**, notes at the congress on the question of war and peace, a plan for the final speech on the report on war and peace. **For the first time, historical and party documents are published in this section:** a letter from the Central Council of Factory Committees of Petrograd to the Central Committee of the RSDLP (b), a telegram from the Ural Regional Party Committee to the Central Committee of the RSDLP (b), the decision of the working meeting on March 5, 1918, minutes of the preliminary

meeting delegates to the congress on March 5, notes from delegates to the presidium of the congress.

The section "Appendices" again includes works by V. I. Lenin, written by him during the preparation of the congress: "Summary of the program of negotiations on peace", "Theses on the question of the immediate conclusion of a separate and annexationist peace", "Afterword to the theses on the question of immediate the conclusion of a separate and annexationist peace ", " The socialist fatherland is in danger! ", " Strange and monstrous ", as well as notes on the party conference on January 8 (21), 1918, the results of the answers on the question of peace or war received by the Council of People's Commissars and the Central Executive Committee.

For the first time, the protocols of the Central Committee of the RSDLP (b) of the period of the Brest negotiations, documents and materials related to the issue of concluding peace and resolutions on this issue of local party organizations and Soviets of workers, peasants and soldiers' deputies were fully included. More than one hundred documents are included again.

Printed sources and documentary materials from the period of the Brest-Litovsk peace negotiations have not been fully preserved, therefore the resolutions of local party organizations and Soviets included in this publication do not reflect the positions of all organizations of the RSDLP (b) and local Soviets that have expressed their attitude towards the issue of war and peace.

For the first time, the report of the Secretariat of the Central Committee for the period from the VI Congress to February 1918 and the decision of the Central Committee of the Party of March 15, 1918, prohibiting the "left communists" from submitting a separate declaration to the IV Extraordinary All-Russian Congress of Soviets, is also published.

In this edition of the verbatim record, dates before February 1 (14), 1918 are given in double style (new style in brackets), after February 14 in new style.

The text of the verbatim report of the congress is printed but modern spelling while maintaining all the stylistic features of documentary materials. Explicit misprints, misprints, spelling errors are corrected without reservations.

The publication is equipped with a revised and supplemented scientific and reference apparatus, consisting of notes to the text, indexes: names, party organizations and periodicals.

The publication has been prepared for publication by N. T. Gorbunova. Preparatory Assistant S. Nikolaevskaya. Editor N.I. Shatagin.

Institute of Marxism-Leninism under the Central Committee of the CPSU

РОССІЙСКАЯ СОЦІАЛИСТИЧЕСКАЯ ФЕДЕРАТИВНАЯ СОВѢТСКАЯ РЕСПУБЛИКА.

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Б. 3.

„Пролетаріи всѣхъ странъ, соединяйтесь!“

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# ПЯТЫЙ ВСЕРОССІЙСКІЙ СЪѢЗДЪ

СОВѢТОВЪ РАБОЧИХЪ, КРЕСТЬЯНСКИХЪ,  
СОЛДАТСКИХЪ и КАЗАЧЬИХЪ ДЕПУТАТОВЪ.

СТЕНОГРАФИЧЕСКІЙ ОТЧЕТЪ.



Москва, 4—10 іюля 1918 г.

ИЗДАТЕЛЬСТВО  
Всероссійскаго Центральнаго Исполнительнаго  
Комитета Совѣтовъ Р., С., К. и К. Депутатовъ.  
МОСКВА.—1918.

Б. 3.

### **Fifth All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers, Peasants, Red Army and Cossack Deputies, July 4-10, 1918**

Verbatim report. Moscow: Publishing house of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of Soviets R., S., K., and K. d., 1918.

Verbatim report of the All-Russian V Congress of Soviets, held on July 4-10, 1918 in Moscow. At the congress, the Constitution of the RSFSR was adopted, the decision to exclude the Left SRs from the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and the Soviets.

The congress was attended by 1164 delegates with a decisive vote - 773 Bolsheviks, 353 Left Social Revolutionaries, 17 Maximalists, 4 Anarchists, 4 Mensheviks-internationalists, 2 representatives of national groups (Dashnaksutyun, Poalei Tsion), 1 Right Socialist Revolutionary, 10 non-party. The order of the day: reports of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars (lecturers V. I. Lenin and Y. M. Sverdlov); the food issue (A. D. Tsyurupa); the organization of the socialist Red Army (L. D. Trotsky); Constitution of the Russian Republic (Yu. M. Steklov); elections to the Central Executive Committee. At the congress, the leaders of the Left Social Revolutionaries (M.A. Spiridonova, B.D. Kamkov, V.A. Karelin and others) made provocative calls to reject the decrees on the food, dictatorship, and the organization of committees of the poor, to express distrust in the policy of the Soviet government, to tear up the Brest Peace 1918 with Germany. The congress rejected the demand of the Left Social Revolutionaries and by a majority vote approved on July 5 the foreign and domestic policy of the Soviet government.

The anti-Soviet speeches of the Left SRs at the congress culminated in their mutiny in Moscow on July 6-7 (see Left SR revolt of 1918), in the suppression of which the Bolshevik faction of the congress took part. In connection with the mutiny, the sessions of the congress on July 6 were temporarily interrupted, and the Left SR faction was arrested (later, the Left SRs who were not involved in the rebellion were released; about 200 of them returned to the meetings of the congress and condemned the rebels).



On July 9, resuming its work, the congress heard a report on the events of July 6-7, condemned the conspirators - the Left SRs, approved the actions of the Soviet government to liquidate the rebellion and issued a directive to purge the Soviets of that part of the Left SR elements that was in solidarity with the anti-Soviet policy of their Central Committee.

The congress adopted a resolution on the food issue, approved the food policy of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars, their decrees on granting the People's Commissar of food extraordinary powers to fight the village bourgeoisie, hiding bread, and speculating with it, on organizing the rural poor and creating food detachments.

On July 10, a decree on the Red Army was adopted. It indicated that the Red Army should be centralized, well trained, and equipped, welded together by iron discipline. To create such an army, military specialists of the pre-revolutionary period should be used, capable of honestly cooperating with the Soviet government. At the same time, the task was put forward to accelerate the training of commanders from among workers and peasants, to strengthen the composition of military commissars. A directive was adopted to carry out in a short time the mobilization of several ages of workers and working peasants into the army.

On July 10, 1918, the congress adopted the Constitution of the RSFSR, the first constitution of the Soviet state. The Constitution was promulgated and entered into force on July 19, 1918. The All-Russian Central Executive Committee, consisting of 200 people, was elected.

Российская Социалистическая Федеративная Советская Республика.

*„Пролетарии всех стран, соединяйтесь!“*

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**ШЕСТОЙ ВСЕРОССИЙСКИЙ  
ЧРЕЗВЫЧАЙНЫЙ  
С'ЕЗД СОВЕТОВ**

**Рав., Кр., Кав. и Красноарм. Деп.**

**СТЕНОГРАФИЧЕСКИЙ ОТЧЕТ.**

*Москва, 6—9 ноября 1918 г.*



ИЗДАТЕЛЬСТВО  
Всероссийского Центрального Исполнительного  
Комитета Советов Р., С., К. и К. Депутатов.  
МОСКВА.—1918.

## **Sixth All-Russian Extraordinary Congress of Soviets of Workers, Peasants, Cossack and Red Army Deputies, November 6-9, 1918**

VI All-Russian Congress of Soviets (Sixth All-Russian Extraordinary Congress of Soviets of Workers, Peasants, Cossack, and Red Army Deputies), November 6 - 9, 1918, Moscow. At the congress, the results of the first year of the existence of the Soviet state were summed up.

According to the credentials committee, as of November 8, 1234 mandates were issued, of which 933 with the right of decisive vote were issued, including 913 mandates were issued to the communists, 10 to revolutionary communists, 5 to left-wing socialist-revolutionaries, to communist populists - 2, maximalists - 1, anarchists - 1, non-partisan - 1. There were 333 mandates with an advisory vote, including 333 communists, 4 left-wing socialist-revolutionaries, 3 anarchists, communist populists and 2 non-party people each, revolutionary communists, maximalists, internationalists, Finnish communists, representatives of Poalei Zion, the Ukrainian Communist Party and the British Socialist Party - 1 mandate each 13 delegates were late for the convention.

Of the delegates to the VI Congress, 33 took part in the I Congress, 52 in the II, 73 in the III, 83 in the IV, 129 in the V. 1001 delegates were first elected to the All-Russian Congress. 447 delegates have previously been held accountable for political affairs a total of 742 times; spent a total of 314 years, 5 months and 16 days in prisons, 256 years and 6 months in exile, 77 years, 10 months and 15 days in hard labor, 83 years in exile.

747 delegates to the congress were from 20 to 30 years old, 374 - up to 40 years old, 68 - up to 50 years old, and only 9 were over 50 years old.

The 1st meeting opened on November 6, 1918 at 15:00, chaired by Yakov Sverdlov.

Sverdlov, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Steklov, Avanesov, Myasnikov and Sergeev were elected to the presidium of the congress, the honorary chairmen of the presidium were Lenin, Liebknecht, Fr. Adler, McLean, and Debs.

As part of the approved order of the day, the following reports were made, welcome speeches and messages were heard:

- 1) Anniversary of the revolution (lecture by V. I. Lenin);
- 2) Greetings to the congress of the representative of the left socialist party of Sweden Carlsen (translated by A. Kollontai), the representative of the Danish socialist youth Christiansen (translated by A. Kollontai), a welcoming telegram from Karl Liebknecht, the "Spartak" group
- 3) At the suggestion of Y. Sverdlov, the Congress sent greetings to all working people fighting for peace and socialism, as well as to the Red Army. In addition, an appeal was adopted to the governments of the United States, Britain, France, Italy, and Japan, which are waging a war against Soviet Russia, with a proposal to start negotiations on concluding peace.
- 4) At the suggestion of Kamenev, the Congress adopted a resolution on amnesty, according to which political prisoners who did not pose a danger to the Soviet Republic were released.

The 2nd meeting opened on November 8, 1918 at 4:25 pm.

- 1) A message was deserved about the capture of Izhevsk by the 2nd Army, a welcoming telegram was sent to the Red Army men and the command staff of the 2nd Army of the Eastern Front.
- 2) A report on the international situation was heard (lecturer V. I. Lenin), a corresponding resolution was adopted.
- 3) A report on legality was heard (rapporteur, People's Commissar of Justice D. I. Kurski), a corresponding resolution was adopted.
- 4) Sverdlov read out a report on the latest events in Germany and reported to the Congress the information provided by the Credentials Committee.

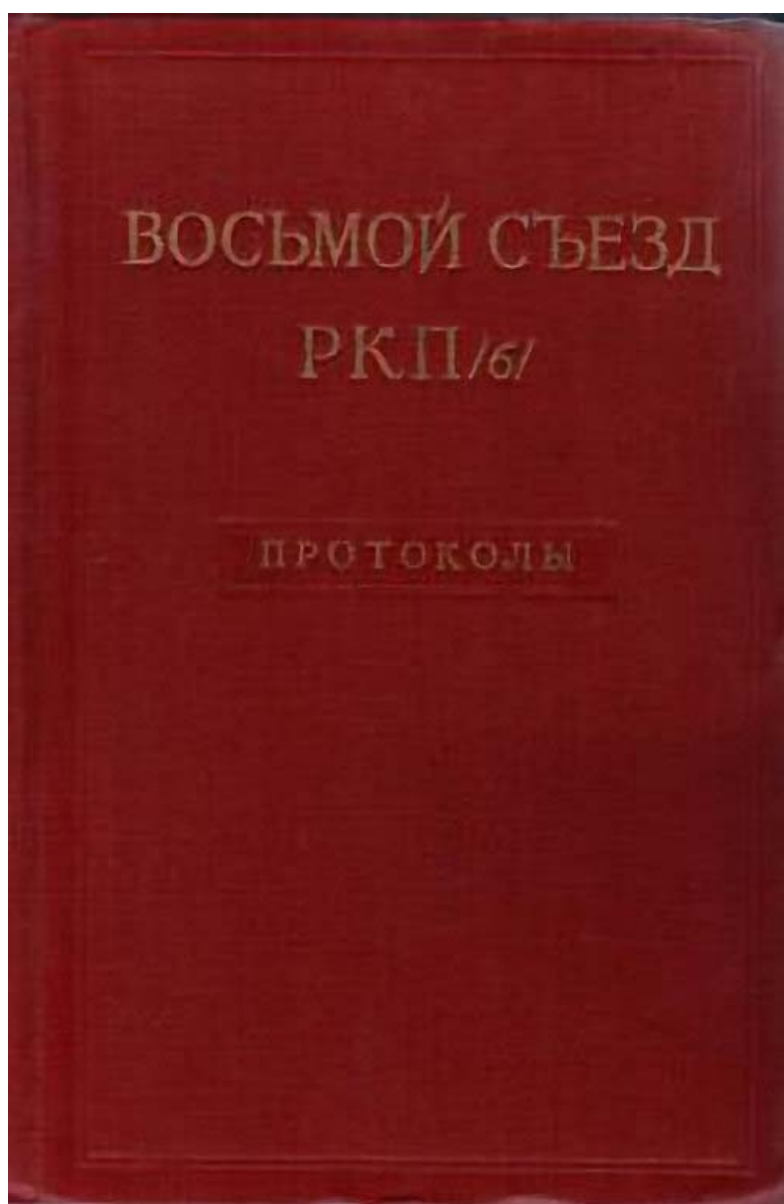
The meeting closed at 18:30.

The 3rd meeting opened at 18:00.

- 1) Steklov 's report on the latest events in Germany was heard and taken into account.
- 2) A report by L. D. Trotsky on martial law was heard, and a decision was made to address a greeting to the Red Army.
- 3) The proposal of the Northern Regional Congress of the Committees of the Poor on the organization of exemplary regiments of the rural poor was heard (Posern's report)
- 4) The report on the state of affairs in Northern Germany was heard and taken into account, Sverdlov's proposal to send a telegram of greetings to the insurgent German peasants, soldiers, and workers.
- 5) The report of Zinoviev on the building of Soviet power in the center, the Committees of the Poor and the Soviets in the localities was heard, and a corresponding resolution was adopted.
- 6) elections were held in the V. Ts. IK, in accordance with the approved lists provided by the factions of the congress, based on the calculation of 1 member of the V. Ts. IK for every 5 delegates.

#### Resolutions adopted

- 1) Resolution of the VI Congress on the proposal to the governments of the USA, England, France, Italy, and Japan to open, in order to prevent bloodshed, peace negotiations;
- 2) Resolution of the VI Congress on amnesty in conditions of strengthening and strengthening of the workers 'and peasants' power;
- 3) Resolution of the VI Congress "On revolutionary legality", calling on all citizens of the Republic to comply with the laws of the RSFSR, decrees, orders and regulations issued and issued by the central government, as well as - on the inadmissibility of adopting measures deviating from the laws of the RSFSR, with the exception of emergency, caused by the conditions of the civil war and the fight against counterrevolution.
- 4) Resolution of the VI Congress "On the construction of Soviet power in the center, committees of the poor and local councils"



### **Eighth Congress of the RCP (b). March 1919.**

The VIII Congress of the RCP (b) was held on March 18–23, 1919 in Moscow. The minutes of the VIII Congress of the RCP (b) were first published by the Kommunist book publishing house in 1919 and republished in 1933 by the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute under the Central Committee of the CPSU (b). When preparing this edition of the minutes, the printed text of the first edition of the minutes of 1919 was taken as the basis, which was compiled with the transcripts of the sessions of the congress stored in the Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism under the Central Committee of the CPSU and the first publications in the newspaper Pravda for 1919 without reservations. All additions and clarifications to the text of the protocols are given in footnotes. VI Lenin's reports and speeches are given according to the text of the 29th volume of the 4th edition of the Works of VI Lenin.

The VIII All-Russian Party Conference in the history of our party, in the history of its struggle to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, to build socialism during the civil war, occupies a significant place.

The conference took place in an atmosphere of tremendous success, on the fronts of the civil war and the emerging temporary respite, thwarted by the offensive of the White Poles and Wrangel. "We are calling a conference," Lenin said at the opening of the conference, "in connection with the Congress of Soviets, at a moment when we have managed to achieve a gigantic improvement on the fronts, and when we are confident that we are on the eve of a major turning point for the better both in the international situation and in relation to the military ". "The failure of the counter-revolution this time was so unexpected and sudden," wrote Stalin, "that the victors of imperialist Germany, the old wolves of the Entente, were forced to proclaim publicly: "Bolshevism cannot be defeated by force of arms".

The victory of the dictatorship of the working class on the fronts of the civil war strengthened the international position of Soviet power, and the tasks of socialist construction and organizational tasks began to come to the fore. On these main and most difficult tasks of the

proletarian revolution — organizational tasks — the VIII All-Russian Conference focused its attention mainly on. "Behind," Lenin said later in his report at the VII Congress of Soviets, "lies the main phase of the civil wars that we were waging, and, ahead is the main phase of that peaceful construction, which attracts all of us, which we want, which we must create and to which we will devote all our efforts and our whole life. Now we can say on the basis of the difficult trials of the war that in the main - in terms of military and international - we have proved to be the winners. The road of peaceful construction opens before us".

The Party approached the solution of these most important tasks of socialist construction with the experience of two years of heroic struggle not only against the interventionists; and internal White Guards, but also the fight against devastation in the difficult conditions of the civil war. The Party, both on the labor front, as well as on the military fronts, organized and led the labor enthusiasm, heroism and dedication of the workers and toiling masses. Subbotniks were a striking indicator of this enthusiasm and were "extraordinarily valuable as the actual beginning of (the first phase of) communism".

One of the main issues of the conference was the question of "Soviet construction." It was during the discussion of this issue (as, in part, according to the report of the Central Committee) that the less-whistle-Socialist-Revolutionary insides of the Sapronov-Osinsky group, which later took shape as a group of "democratic centralism", came to light. The group put forward a special scheme of organizational measures on issues of both party and Soviet construction, in which it gave an anti-Leninist interpretation of the principle of democratic centralism. Their struggle against one-man management for collegiality, their struggle against the centralism of the Soviet apparatus and the defense of de facto "local power", replacing the real struggle with bureaucracy with shouts of "bureaucracy" essentially meant a struggle against strengthening the proletarian state, for its separation from the party leadership. The conference rebuffed these anti-party attitudes of the opposition, about which Lenin later said: "This is the worst Menshevism and Socialist-Revolutionaryism," and adopted a number of decisions to strengthen



the apparatus of the dictatorship of the proletariat and to maximize the involvement of the broadest working masses in building the Soviet state.

One of the most difficult tasks of communist construction was the task of strengthening the alliance with the middle peasantry. Already at the 8th Congress, the party proclaimed a policy of a strong alliance with the middle peasant. The conference outlined a number of measures to strengthen this alliance, to develop party work in the countryside and to provide real assistance to the peasant. At the conference, the party criticized the anti-middle peasant tendencies of the Sapronov group, which, under the guise of accusing the Central Committee of bureaucratic persecution of local workers, essentially defended the resistance that had taken place in a number of party organizations to the implementation of the decision of the 8th Congress on an alliance with the middle peasant. Sapronov's proposal to remove § 9 of the "Instruction for work in the countryside", which says: "to obtain from Soviet farms and communes direct and real assistance to the neighboring peasants," followed from these same anti-middle-peasant sentiments. Lenin, in his concluding remarks, exposed the entire harm of the anti-middle-class deviation. "This is a serious question," said Lenin, "because on this basis our relations with the peasants often deteriorate," "the relationship of the communes and Soviet farms to the surrounding peasantry, this is one of the most painful questions of our entire policy." An alliance with the middle peasantry - Lenin stressed - will not be lasting "if we are not able to arrange this matter in such a way that real help is rendered to this peasant."

The discussion at the conference of the question of "Soviet power in Ukraine" was of great importance for the whole party. The party mercilessly criticized the mistakes in national and peasant issues that took place in Ukraine in 1919 (underestimation of the national question in the practice of many party organizations, the forced planting of communes, etc.) and, in essence, were Luxembourgian perversions. Based on the experience of Ukraine, the conference showed all national communist parties how to pursue the party line on peasant and national issues in the peculiar conditions of the

national regions previously oppressed by tsarism. Under the direct leadership of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), the CP (b) U, correcting these mistakes, consistently pursuing the Leninist national policy, ensured the victory of the proletarian dictatorship in Ukraine.

The issues of the correct implementation of the policy towards the peasantry and in the national question were of decisive importance not only for 1919, the period of the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat in Ukraine, but also during the period of socialist construction. And now, under the leadership of the Leninist Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) and Comrade Stalin, the CP (b) U has corrected the mistakes made recently in Ukraine, expressed in the weakening of the Bolshevik vigilance, which made it easier for the Ukrainian nationalists - a weapon of German and Polish fascism - to counter-revolutionary subversive work. The decisions of the June and November plenums of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of U, in which mistakes were revealed, the results were summed up and further tasks of national policy were outlined, are of tremendous general party significance. Under the direct leadership of the Central Committee and the leader of the party, Comrade Stalin, the CP (b) U has achieved brilliant victories in the construction of socialist Ukraine over the past year. These victories of the Soviet power in Ukraine - an example of the Leninist nationality policy - are of international importance.

The issues of strengthening the party itself - the most important instrument of the proletarian dictatorship and the construction of socialism - acquired special significance in the then situation. "We must," said Lenin, "create a party that will be a party of workers, in which there is no place for those who take over." Held in then? Since the party's re-registration is the first purge of its ranks under the dictatorship of the proletariat, party week, like the charter adopted at the conference, ensured the strengthening and purification of the party. The conference adopted a special decision to involve in the party work new masses of workers who joined the party during the difficult years of the civil war, emphasizing the importance of the task

of making every member of the party "workers of the new communist society under construction."

The conference in its decisions summed up the results of a two-year struggle to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and, without in any way weakening the military work - the defense of the Soviet republic, - focused the attention of the entire party "on the basic, on the foundation, on those simple tasks," as Lenin says. which are the most difficult to solve ... it is the bread problem, the fuel problem, the lice control problem. Here are three simple tasks, - says Lenin further, - which will give us the opportunity to build a socialist republic, and then we will defeat the whole world a hundred times more victorious, solemn and triumphant than we will repel the attack of the Entente. "

The transcripts of the VIII All-Russian Conference are published for the first time. The publication is based on: 1) Verbatim records of reports and debates published in Izvestia of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) No. 9, 10, 11 for 1919; Lenin - "Political Report of the Central Committee"; Krestinsky — "Organizational Report OK"; Vladimirsky - "Report on Soviet construction"; Zinoviev - "On the charter"; Bukharin - "On work among the new members of the Party" and co-reports and debates on them. 2) The transcripts stored in the archives of the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute, unpublished and not corrected by the editorial committee of the conference: - Yakovlev's report - "On Soviet power in Ukraine", debates on this report, the closing words of Lenin and Yakovlev, and Rykov's report - "On fuel ".

The transcript of one of Lenin's main speeches - his report "On Soviet Power in Ukraine" - was not preserved in the conference materials. The absence of this - of exceptional importance in terms of its meaning - of the document constitutes a very large gap.

The text of the conference sessions published in Izvestia of the Central Committee was carefully checked against the transcripts stored in the IMEL archive, and on the basis of them was supplemented.

It was not possible to establish the personal composition of the conference delegates. From the report of the credentials committee, it is clear that the conference was attended by 45 delegates with a

decisive vote - 40 representatives from provincial committees, 5 - from regional, territorial, and other organizations - and 73 delegates with an advisory vote. Delegates from Tobolsk, Omsk, Chelyabinsk, Samara, Kursk, Orenburg, and Astrakhan provincial committees were not represented at all, and a representative of Turkestan was also absent.

The section "Materials" contains resolutions and resolutions adopted by the VIII Conference (reproduced in this edition according to the text of Izvestia Central Committee No. 10, 11 for 1919 and JMb 12 for 1920.

In the section "Attachments" are given: a notice of the convocation of the conference and documents published in connection with the issues that were the subject of discussion at the conference.

The preparation for publication of this edition was done by T. Khait; working editing was carried out by M. Volin.

ИНСТИТУТ ЯДЕРНОЙ ФИЗИКИ — СЕРГЕЕВСКАЯ — ЛИНИЯ № 1 ДУ. 200 (6)

ПРОТОКОЛЫ  
ВОСЬМОЙ ВСЕРОССИЙСКОЙ  
КОНФЕРЕНЦИИ РКП (б)

ПАРТИЗОННОЕ ИЗДАТЕЛЬСТВО  
МОСКВА 1934

## **Eighth Conference of the RCP (b). December 1919**

The transcripts of the VIII All-Russian Conference are published for the first time. The publication is based on: 1) Verbatim records of reports and debates, published in *Izvestia of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks)* No. 9, 10, 11 for 1919; Lenin - "Political Report of the Central Committee"; Krestinsky - "Organizational report OK"; Vladimirsky - "Report on Soviet construction"; Zinoviev - "On the charter"; Bukharin - "On work among the new members of the party" and co-reports and debates on them. 2) The transcripts stored in the archives of the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute unpublished and not corrected by the editorial committee of the conference: - Yakovlev's report - "On Soviet power in Ukraine", debates on this report, the closing words of Lenin and Yakovlev, and Rykov's report - "On fuel".

The XIII conference of the CPSU (b) was held in Moscow on January 16-18, 1924. There were 128 delegates with a casting vote and 222 with an advisory vote. The conference discussed issues of party building, international situation, and immediate tasks of economic policy. JV Stalin made a report "On the Immediate Tasks of Party Building". The resolutions "On Party Building" and "On the Results of the Discussion and the Petty-Bourgeois Deviation in Our Party" were adopted.

At the conference, a fierce controversy unfolded between the majority of the delegates, on the one hand, and L. D. Trotsky and his supporters, on the other. As a result of the conference, Trotskyism was condemned and called "a petty-bourgeois and revisionist movement directed against Leninism."

Order of the day: Political and organizational reports of the Central Committee (lecturers V. I. Lenin, N. N. Krestinsky); International situation (speaker G.V. Chicherin); Questions of the order of the day of the 7th All-Russian Congress of Soviets (the question of Soviet construction, lecturer MF Vladimirsky); About Soviet power in Ukraine (speaker Ya.A. Yakovlev); On the party charter (lecturer G.E. Zinoviev); On the work among the new members of the party (speaker NI Bukharin); On the fuel crisis (speaker A.I. Rykov).

In the political report of the Central Committee, Lenin summed up and summed up the experience of the two-year struggle of the party to strengthen Soviet power, revealed the conditions for victories on the fronts of the Civil War, and gave an analysis of the international situation. Lenin identified the immediate tasks of the party in the field of state, economic, party building, the solution of which ensured the victorious end of the Civil War.

Based on Chicherin's report, the conference adopted a resolution reflecting the Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence of the Soviet country with other states. The report on Soviet construction summarized the experience of the Soviet state apparatus, highlighted issues of relations between local and central bodies, and made proposals for amendments to the Constitution of the RSFSR. The conference paid much attention to Ukraine, where (before its capture by the White Guards), Soviet and party bodies made serious mistakes in resolving peasant and national issues (planting communes and state farms without observing the principle of voluntariness, confiscating surplus grain from the middle peasants, attempts at Russification). Lenin made a speech and concluding remarks on the report "On Soviet Power in Ukraine" (the text of the speech has not yet been found);

For the first time since the October Revolution, the conference adopted a new Statute of the RCP (b). Its main provisions were preserved in all subsequent party statutes. The Charter enshrined the principle of democratic centralism, clearly defined the structure of party organizations, introduced a new section on candidates for party members, etc.

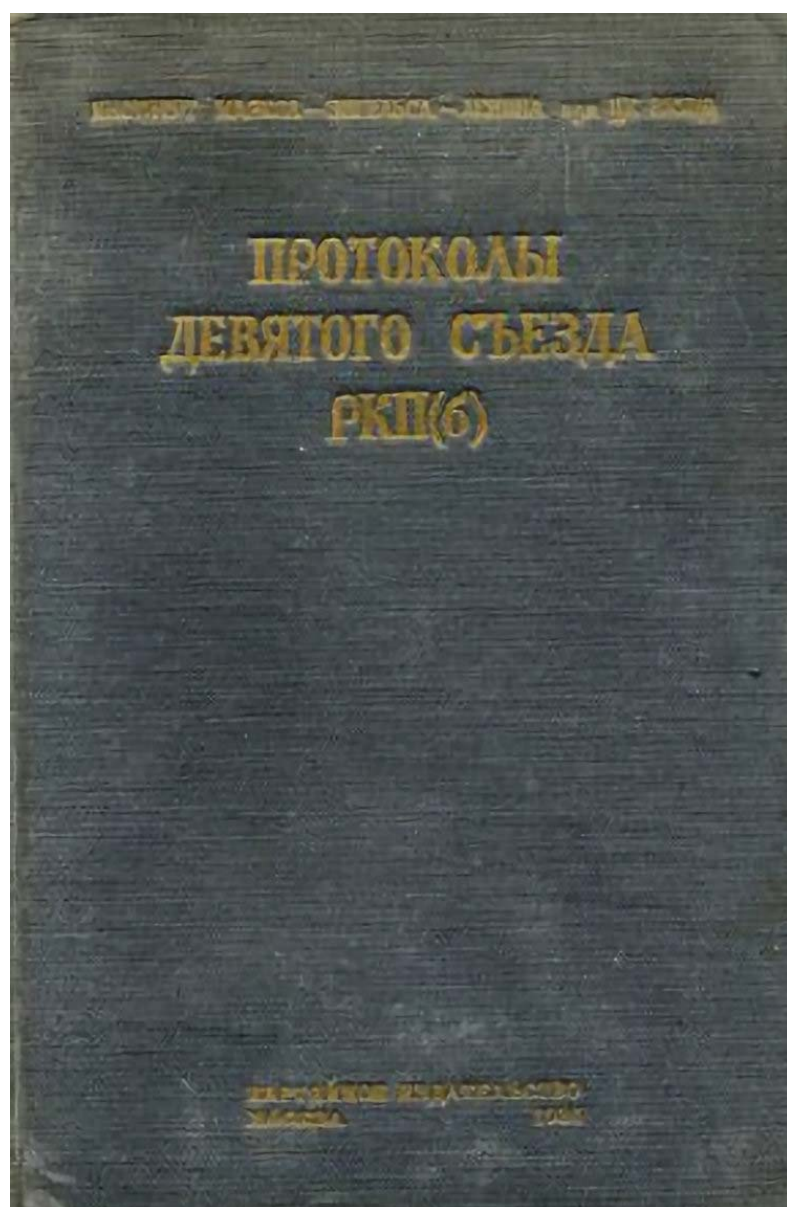
The conference discussed the issue of working with young communists admitted to the RCP (b) during the party week, which took place at the end of 1919 (over 270 thousand).

The conference outlined concrete measures to raise the general educational and ideological and political level of communists, strengthen party discipline, and involve young party members in the active construction of a socialist society. A draft resolution on fuel supply was adopted for submission by the communist faction at the

7th All-Russian Congress of Soviets. The conference rebuffed the speeches of the so-called anti-party group T.V. Saprionov - N. Osinsky (VV Obolensky) (the group of "democratic centralism"), which led to the weakening of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to the denial of the party leadership of the Soviet apparatus.

The decisions of the conference formed the basis for the decisions of the 7th All-Russian Congress of Soviets.





## Ninth Congress of the RCP (B) - April 1920

The IX Congress of our Party occupies a significant place in the history of our past, and its decisions are of great international significance. '

**The Ninth Party Congress (March 29-April 5, 1920)** took place during a new respite, won by the Land of the Soviets as a result of a tremendous victory over international imperialism and a **decisive military defeat of the internal counter-revolution**. It was a very brief period when allied imperialism began to replace its unsuccessful interventionist tactics with a "trade" orientation. The course of intervention was nevertheless soon afterwards taken again by imperialism, **mainly from France**. The attack of the White Wormwood, characterized by Lenin as **"the wreckage of the old plan of the imperialists,"** was in the hands of the latter a new, yet another, **major attempt** at military defeat of the proletarian dictatorship they hated. But that was already after the congress. The respite established before that allowed the party to begin rebuilding its ranks **to fight the enemy on the "bloodless front" — the economic front**. Ninth Party Congress focused on questions of economic development. The decisions of the Ninth Congress on these issues **do not go beyond the economic course of the era of War Communism**. This is their profound **difference from the decisions** adopted at the next, **Tenth Party Congress**. The civil war was far from over. **"We must remember,"** Lenin said at the closing of the congress, **"that the entire capitalist world is armed from head to toe and is waiting for the moment,** choosing the best strategic conditions, examining the methods of attack".

The decisions of the Ninth Party Congress on economic development are therefore **"a simple transition on the same lines of politics", they are the embodiment of the economic course of the era of War Communism**.

The congress decided to **use the army on the labor front**. The war was ended, but three million Red Army soldiers were under arms. To dissolve them to their homes, given the catastrophic state of transport, when trains from Moscow to Kharkov ran for weeks, it would mean, if necessary, collecting them would take too long. **This would mean**

**completely disarming the country of the proletarian dictatorship** in the face of the intervention gathering with new forces. In addition, the country was faced with the **urgent task of** collecting grain and delivering it to industrial centers. To complete this task quickly, masses of unskilled labor were needed. That is why the only way out, under the conditions of that time, **was to use the liberated armies on the labor front**. It was precisely this aspect of the question — the labor armies as an emergency and temporary measure caused by extraordinary circumstances — that Lenin emphasized at the congress. But **Leon Trotsky was inclined to turn this heavy necessity**, which the party was forced to accept, **into an ideal**. He agreed to the point that the **methods of military coercion**, carried out with the help of the labor army, **are almost the best methods of socialist construction**. Of course, **such views are not accidental for Trotsky**. At the heart of his views on this issue was **lack of faith** in the creative forces of the proletariat, in its ability to lead the peasantry in building socialism, hence the lack of faith in the possibility of the victory of socialism in our country. The party, led by **Lenin and Stalin, resolutely rejected Trotsky's bureaucratic hobbies**.

In addition to the question of labor armies, in deciding "the immediate tasks of economic development" the congress widely raised questions of mass mobilizations, labor service, the development of forms of socialist centralism and other organizational issues related to economic construction. In this connection, **much attention was devoted to the question of a single economic plan**. The decision adopted at the congress on this issue provided for the gradual expansion of production in order for the first time to raise the enterprises and industries most necessary for the country: **primarily transport, fuel, metallurgy, etc.**

In the aforementioned decision on the unity of the economic plan, an important place is occupied by the question of **the electrification of the entire national economy**. It is known how Lenin, who put forward the idea of electrifying the country in the spring of 1918, often returned to this issue. It is known that already at the beginning of 1920, on the eve of the IX Party Congress, V.I. Lenin instructed G.M. Krzhizhanovsky to work out the state draft plan for electrification,

which Lenin thought of as a "great program for 10-20 years". **This task of Lenin** soon "in the same 1920 **gave rise to the well-known GOELRO plan**, now far exceeded. It should be noted that exactly this **idea of electrification was resolutely opposed by L. Trotsky**. He opposed the Leninist plan of bringing the technical and production base under the Soviet superstructure to labor-army. Touching upon this very question, Comrade **Stalin in March 1921 wrote to Lenin** in a well-known letter devoted to the characterization of the electrification plan:

"Remember last year **Trotsky's "plan"** (his theses) of the "economic revival" of Russia based on the massive application of labor to the wreckage of the pre-war industry unskilled peasant-worker masses (labor armies). **What squalor, what backwardness** in comparison with the GOELRO plan! A medieval handicraftsman who imagines himself to be an Ibsen hero, called upon to "save" Russia with an old saga ...". Incidentally, we note that the question of a single economic plan, as it was already raised at the Ninth Congress, met with a negative attitude at the Congress and from AI Rykov. **As you know, later he still "criticized" the GOELRO plan**, and in the same letter, Comrade Stalin characterizes Comrade Rykov's position on this issue as "**philistine" realism** "(in fact, Manilovism)".

The congress decisively raised the question of resolving a number of urgent problems of an economic nature and of the priority (shock) supply of certain industrial enterprises and groups of workers. **The tasks of trade unions and cooperatives** discussed at the congress were viewed from the point of view of that "special organizational task", which was formulated by the congress in the following words: "**The party will have to adapt its work to new economic tasks, reorganize its ranks and make a radical redistribution of forces**".

**In the field of party building, the Ninth Congress continued the line of establishing and strengthening iron discipline and a kind of military regime in the party.** Looking back at the past, it should be said that without the implementation of these methods of a kind of militarization in politics and practice, the party would not have resisted the struggle that ended in the complete defeat of Yudenich, Kolchak, Denikin, etc. democratic centralism ". The leaders of this

"faction" were exclusively the "left" communists of 1918 — Sapronov, V. Smirnov, Osinsky and others. They opposed the one-man management, against the labor armies, against the militarization of individual branches of the economy, **against the creation of a strong, centralized state apparatus**, in fact, **against the dictatorship of the proletariat**. Being ultra-left in its phraseology, the faction "louder than all the shouts," as Lenin called it, **it took an openly right-wing opportunist position** on a number of issues. From an anarcho-Menshevik position, she spoke out against proletarian discipline and organization in all the main sectors of the struggle and building of the party during the years of the fierce civil war. Especially a lot of "decists" shouted about the **excessive** guardianship of the Central Committee over local organizations, about the fact that the Central Committee arbitrarily disposes of local workers. The fact is that by that time the Central Committee had done an enormous amount of work on mass and individual transfers and mobilization of Party workers. In this connection it was necessary in a number of cases to deprive a number of local organizations of the necessary personnel. Speaking on this issue, the "decists" were the direct spokesmen for the narrow-local tendencies that arose on this basis.

The "Decists" (*Democratic Centralists. EA*) tried to give the party a big fight on the question of one-man management in the management of industry. Despite the fact that this issue had long been resolved by the party, and it was necessary to move on to its practical implementation, the "Decists", by the way, we should note that, **supported by a number of trade unionists led by Tomskey and a group of business executives led by Rykov**, demanded collegiality in the management of industry. **considering it as "the highest level of government."** And such argumentation represents, **Lenin said, "a terrible confusion of elementary theoretical questions"**. "Decists" were pulling the party back, to rallies and partisans, then and where the strictest centralized actions were needed. In a word, the "Decists" pursued a line of weakening and disintegrating the proletarian dictatorship.

Under the most **difficult conditions of civil war**, the Party rebuffed all attempts to divert it from the Leninist general line. If in the struggle

against the deepest economic devastation, against new and fresh offensives of the interventionists, the Party won, then **the decisions of the IX Party Congress played a significant role in this.**

The minutes (verbatim record) of the 9'th Party Congress were first issued in 1920 in Moscow (State Publishing House, 412 pages). This publication is verified against the transcripts of the sessions of the congress stored in the IMEL Archive. **A number of insertions included in the text**, taken from the transcripts, are **published for the first time**. The text of **Lenin's reports** and speeches, verified against the available transcripts, **also includes some additions**.

All obvious misprints and spelling errors found in the 1919 edition were corrected in the text without any reservations. All footnotes belonging to the editorial board of this publication, in contrast to the notes of the editorial committee of the congress, are signed "Ed."

The documents cited in the "Supplements" to the 1920 edition are rearranged in such a way that all resolutions and greetings adopted at the congress make up the section "Materials of the congress." All other documents, both included in the 1920 edition and for the first time included in this edition, have entered in the Appendices section. **A number of documents included in this section are published for the first time**, including Lenin's remarks on Trotsky's draft theses (pp. 812-813).

The title of the short foreword of the editorial committee was given by the editors of this publication.

The work on the preparation for printing of this publication was carried out by M. A. Avilova, under the direction of I. V. Volkovicher.

December 1933

## CONGRESS MATERIALS

### I. Resolutions and resolutions of the IX Congress

1. According to the report of the Central Committee
2. On the immediate tasks of economic construction

3. On the organization of communication between economic commissions
4. On the issue of trade unions and their organization.
5. About the attitude towards cooperation
6. On organizational matters
7. About the transition to the police system
8. On the relationship between political departments and party committees
9. About work among the female proletariat
10. About mobilization for transport
- a) Appeal of the IX Congress to the local organizations of the RCP (b)
- b) Resolution of the IX Congress of the RCP (b) on mobilization for transport
11. Composition of the Central Committee of the RCP (b)

## II. Greetings to the Congress

12. Greetings to the IX Congress of the RCP (b) To the Red Army and the Red  
the fleet of the RSFSR
13. Greetings to the IX Congress of the RCP (b) to the German proletariat

## III. Composition of the Congress

14. Delegates with casting vote

## APPENDICES

1. Notice of the convocation of the IX Congress of the RSCB)
2. To the organizations of the RCP (b) on the issue of the order of the day of partial congress
3. Regulations of the IX Congress of the RCP (b)

4. Political report of the Central Committee
5. Organizational report of the Central Committee
6. Report of the Central Committee of the RKSM (for the year of work)
7. Work in the village
8. Report on the activities of the Central Committee department for work among women
9. Lenin's remark on Trotsky's draft theses - the next important tasks of economic construction - and the initial project of Trotsky
10. Draft resolution of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) for the IX Congress on the next  
tasks of economic construction
11. Theses of the Central Committee of the RCP on the mobilization of industrial proletariat, labor service, militarization of the economy and the use of military units for economic needs
12. Theses of the Central Committee on trade unions and their organization.
13. Tasks of trade unions (theses of M. Tomsy).
14. On collegiality and individuality (theses of the Axis of no one, Sapronov, Maksimovsky)
15. Theses of the Moscow Provincial Committee of the RCP ..... 539
16. Composition of the RCP (according to the information and statistics department of the Central Committee)
17. Movement of the composition of the RCP (according to the information and statistics department of the Central Committee).
18. Results of the party week (October – December 1919) (according to the Information-Statistical Department of the Central Committee)
19. Statistical data on the members of the Congress



**ВОСЬМОЙ  
ВСЕРОССИЙСКИЙ  
СЪЕЗД  
СОВЕТОВ**



ГОСУДАРСТВЕННОЕ  
ИЗДАТЕЛЬСТВО  
1921

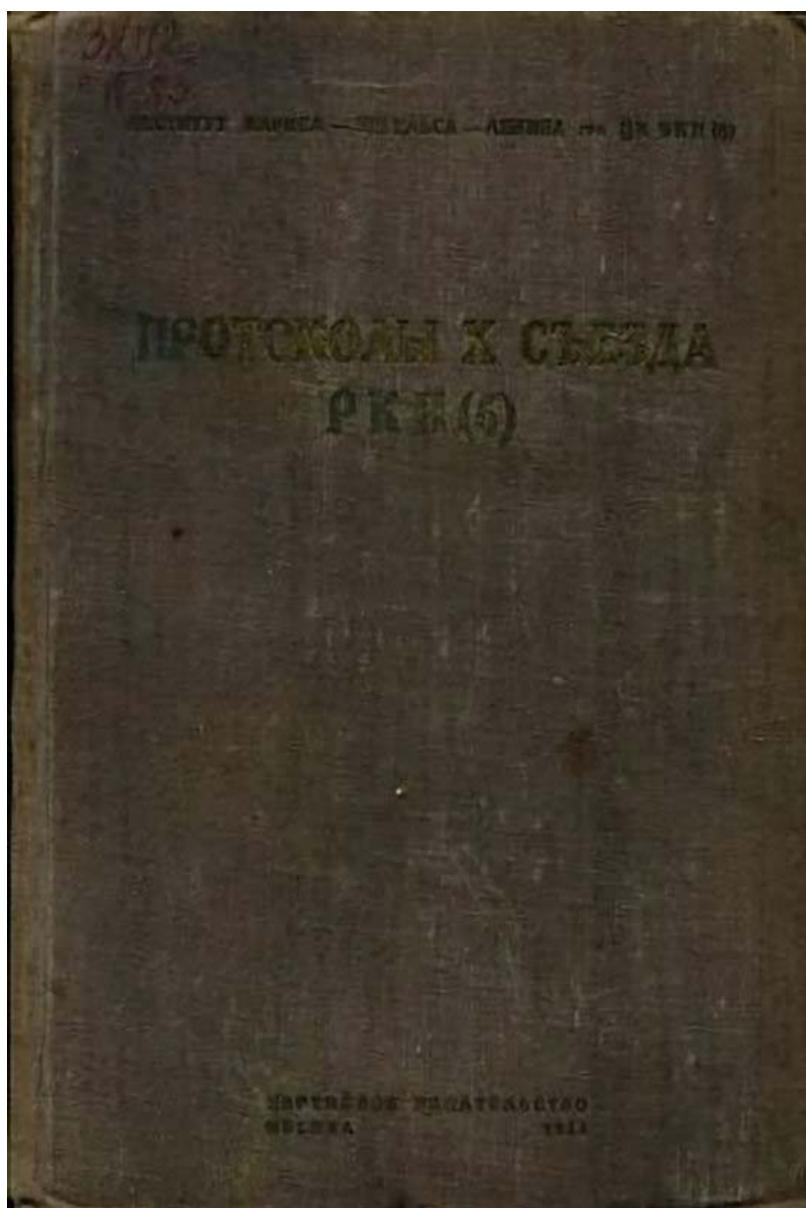
**Eight All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers' Peasants, Red Army and Cossack Deputies. Verbatim record (December 22-29, 1920).**

Moscow: State. publishing house, 1921. - IV, 299 p

Verbatim report of the VIII All-Russian Congress of Soviets, held on December 22-29, 1920, in Moscow. At the congress, the GOELRO plan was approved, the Land Code of the RSFSR was adopted, the Order of the Red Banner of Labor of the RSFSR and its sign were approved, the Regulation on the extraordinary supreme body of the RSFSR - the Labor and Defense Council (STO) - was approved.

The congress was attended by 2,537 delegates (1,728 with a casting vote and 809 with an advisory vote). Party composition: Communists - 2284, Communist sympathizers - 67, non-party members - 98, Mensheviks - 8, Bundists - 8, Left SRs - 2, the rest are members of other parties.

Order of the day: Report of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars on foreign and domestic policy (lecturer V. I. Lenin) On the situation in industry and measures for its restoration (lecturer A. I. Rykov) On electrification (lecturer G. M. Krzhizhanovsky) About transport ( speaker L. D. Trotsky) On the development of agricultural production and assistance to the peasant economy (speaker I. A. Teodorovich) On improving the activities of Soviet bodies in the center and at the local level and the fight against bureaucracy (speaker G. E. Zinoviev) Election of the Central Executive Committee.



## **Tenth Congress of the RCP (b). March 8 — March 16, 1921**

The tenth congress of the RCP (b) was held in Moscow on March 8-16, 1921. The congress was attended by 717 delegates with a casting vote and 418 with an advisory vote, representing 732,521 party members.

According to the report of the credentials committee, 694 delegates with decisive votes passed through the commission, 296 people with an advisory committee. The list of delegates, compiled on the basis of questionnaires by the Statistical Department of the Central Committee, includes 690 delegates with a decisive vote (Kamenev, Lenin, Stalin, and other delegates are not on this list) and 248 with an advisory vote. The lists of delegates with a casting vote and an advisory vote, preserved in the archives of the 10th Congress, include 724 and 449 people, respectively, with some names on both lists.

The Tenth Congress of the RCP (B) took place in a difficult historical situation of the transition from an aggravated civil war to peaceful economic construction, when the party that victoriously ended the civil war faced with all its urgency the question of strengthening the alliance of the working class with the main mass of the peasantry, the question of ways and the forms of building socialism in our country. The Minutes of the X Congress were for the first time "published by the editorial committee of the Congress in 1921 (The Tenth Congress of the Russian Communist Party - verbatim record on March 8-16. Moscow. State Publishing House. 1921).

The Tenth Congress in the history of our Party, in the history of its struggle to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and to build socialism, is of world-wide historical significance.

The congress took place in a difficult historical situation of the transition from an aggravated civil war to peaceful economic construction, when the party, which victoriously ended the civil war, faced with all its urgency the question of strengthening the alliance of the working class with the main masses of the peasantry, the question of the ways and forms of building socialism in our country. ...

On the eve of the congress and at the congress itself, the party carried out a decisive battle for its unity and for its Leninist line against a number of opposition factional groupings (Trotsky's group, Bukharin's "buffer" group adjoining it, the "Workers' Opposition" group, the "Democratic Centralism" group, etc.) P.). In the course of this struggle, the overwhelming majority of the Party rallied around the Leninist line, around the Leninist core of the Central Committee. The congress, according to the Central Committee's report, recognized its policy on the whole as correct and, taking into account the experience of the trade union discussion, and in order to further ensure the Bolshevik monolithicity and strengthen the ties of the Central Committee with the broad proletarian masses, elected a new composition of the Central Committee, introducing into it workers who had been nominated for mass party work ...

The Tenth Congress adopted a number of major decisions of world historical significance.

According to the report of V. I. Lenin, the congress adopted a decision to replace the surplus appropriation system with a tax in kind, which meant the transition from "war communism", "forced by war and ruin", to a new economic policy, the only correct economic policy of the victorious proletariat, designed to destroy classes, to building socialism. According to JV Stalin's report, the congress generalized the experience of the victorious proletariat in the national question - one of the most important questions of the proletarian revolution - and outlined the further tasks of the national policy of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The congress sanctioned the establishment of new - as a result of the collapse of the intentional policy of imperialism - "peaceful" trade relations of the Soviet Republic to the "capitalist encirclement" and approved the foundations of the foreign policy of the Soviet power, the policy of trade treaties, agreements and concessions, which is essentially "the continuation of the war only in a different form" (Lenin). The congress summed up the results of the discussion about the trade unions and the overwhelming majority took the Leninist point of view on the role and tasks of the trade unions, proceeding from Lenin's characterization of them as a school

of communism, as the main driving belt through which the party contacts the working class.

The changed historical situation and the tasks facing the dictatorship of the proletariat demanded, above all, the strengthening of the party as the main instrument of the dictatorship. On the issues of party building, the congress adopted a number of important decisions on the development of intra-party democracy, on raising the ideological and political level of party members, on bringing them to active participation in general party life, on strengthening the party's influence on the non-party masses and on bringing the party into combat readiness to fight the forces of counter-revolution and with biases within the party. According to the report of V.I. Lenin, the congress recognized the propaganda of the ideas of the syndicalist and anarchist deviation (Shlyapnikov and others) as incompatible with belonging to the party and made a special decision on the unity of the party, strictly forbidding the creation of factions and groupings within our party - a decision of tremendous importance for the entire subsequent struggle of the party for Leninist unity.

The party adopted all these decisions at the 10th Congress under the leadership of V.I. Lenin at the most important historical stage of the revolution - the stage of the victorious exit from the civil war in the firm belief that "the communist system, the way of life can be created by the proletariat that won the war" (Lenin and) that "a socialist revolution can not only begin in a backward country, but also be crowned with success, move forward, serving as an example for the capitalistically developed countries" (Stalin). Under the leadership of Lenin's faithful comrade-in-arms and his best disciple, the leader of the party Stalin, the party unswervingly and consistently carried out Lenin's instructions and directives, fought resolutely for the Leninist line, for the purity and development of the theory of Leninism against various anti-party deviations and groupings. Having summed up the results at the joint plenum of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission in January 1933 of its victorious struggle for the Leninist line, for the completion of the first five-year plan, the party enters the second five-year plan, firmly and confidently moving

towards the fulfillment of the greatest historical task of building a classless socialist society.

The Minutes of the X Congress were for the first time "published by the editorial committee of the Congress in 1921 (the Tenth Congress of the Russian Communist Party - 'verbatim report March 8-16. Moscow. State Publishing House. 1921).

This edition is based on the text of the first edition of the minutes of the X Congress, carefully verified with the main stenographic record kept at the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute, which was kept at the Congress, edited (except for a few passages) and approved by the editorial committee of the Congress. The text of this edition is more complete than the first edition. However, in this edition, as in the first, there are no minutes of closed meetings since no transcripts or secretarial notes were kept at these meetings. The text of speeches by a number of speakers contains amendments found in the archives of the Tenth Congress and proposed by them at the Congress, but not included in the first edition. and restored from resolutions, archival materials, etc., the full text of certain passages, documents cited by the speakers, or speeches and brochures, each time with a corresponding reservation in a footnote. Draft resolutions that were not read out textually at the congress, but defended at it on behalf of the Central Committee or representatives of factions, were included in Section II of the Materials of the Congress. In a few cases, the full text of a paragraph of a draft resolution quoted in excerpts is provided in a footnote (for the convenience of the reader only).

All inaccuracies of a factual nature were corrected in footnotes, and only in some cases that did not raise doubts were corrections made to the text itself. Unclear or questionable passages in the transcripts were accompanied in the notes by a reference to the original. Spelling errors and obvious misprints both in the text and in the documents were corrected without reservation. Introduced, stylistically absolutely necessary, individual words, as well as the initials of some speakers are included in square brackets.

The Appendices section included: the most important of the draft resolutions that appeared in the pre-congress discussion, but were not

defended at the congress, and other pre-congress documents, notices of the congress and greetings to the congress (in the first edition of these annexes are not available), a list of organizations and questionnaires.

N. Lukina-Bukharina carried out the preparation for publication of this publication. May 1, 1933



ИНСТИТУТ МАРКСА-ЭНГЕЛЬСА-ЛЕНИНА при ЦК ВКП(б)

**ПРОТОКОЛЫ  
ДЕСЯТОЙ ВСЕРОССИЙСКОЙ  
КОНФЕРЕНЦИИ РКП(б)**

ПОЛНОЕ ИЗДАТЕЛЬСТВО  
МОСКВА 1937

## **Tenth All-Russian conference of the RCP (b). May 1921**

The materials of the May All-Russian Conference of the RCP (Bolsheviks) in 1921 belong to a series of party documents characterizing the beginning of the NEP. Convened on May 15, the conference took place on May 26, 1921, 2 months after the X Congress of the RCP (b), almost half a year before the next December conference.

The Tenth All-Russian Conference of the RCP (B) was held in Moscow on May 26-28, 1921. 239 delegates were present.

The order of the day: 1) Economic policy (lecturer V.I. Lenin): a) food tax (lecturer A.I. Svidersky), b) cooperation (lecturer L.M. Khinchuk), c) about financial reform (lecturer E. A. Preobrazhensky), d) small industry (lecturer V.P. Milyutin); 2) the role of the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks in the current moment (lecturer K.B. Radek); 3) 3rd Congress of the Comintern (lecturer K.B. Radek); 4) on the immediate tasks of the organizational work of the party (lecturer V.M. Molotov).

The conference was convened urgently to further clarify the essence and tasks of the New Economic Policy (NEP), proclaimed by the Tenth Congress of the RCP (b) (March 1921), and was held under the leadership of Lenin. Opening the conference, Lenin said that the main item on the agenda was the question of economic policy, of the transition from surplus appropriation to a tax in kind. In his report, Lenin explained the significance and ways of implementing the NEP as a policy pursued "seriously and for a long time", emphasizing that the task is to strengthen the alliance of the working class with the peasantry on an economic basis, to raise agriculture, to establish the correct exchange of goods between agriculture and industry, to ensure the rise of large-scale industry and the electrification of the country as a basis for building a socialist society. Noting the priority of the task of raising agriculture in order to create the necessary food stocks, Lenin especially emphasized the importance of large-scale industry. Lenin also warned of the difficulties and dangers associated with NEP (revitalization of the capitalist elements), but stressed that,

possessing the commanding heights of the national economy, the Soviet state would be able to overcome these difficulties and dangers.

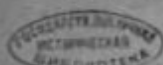
The conference adopted the resolution "On economic policy" written by Lenin, in which it was noted that the complete assimilation and accurate implementation of the NEP is a fundamental political task; the importance of the correct exchange of goods between industry and agriculture as the main economic lever in that period was pointed out, the role of cooperation was emphasized.

The conference approved the work plan of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), in which the main attention was paid to the expedient distribution of party forces, to the need to educate and nominate new workers, to strengthen the ties between the Central Committee and local party organizations. In addition, the conference heard an information report on the meeting of the communist faction of the 4th Congress of Trade Unions (lecturer V.M. Molotov) and additional information on this issue V.I. Lenin, who sharply criticized the actions of the trade union leadership and, above all, the chairman of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions M.P. Tomsk.

In his closing remarks at the conference, Lenin emphasized the international importance of socialist construction in Soviet Russia. "Now our main influence on the international revolution," said Lenin, "we are exerting by our economic policy. Everyone is looking at the Soviet Russian Republic, all working people in all countries of the world ... The struggle has been transferred to this field on a worldwide scale. We will solve this problem - and then we won on an international scale for sure and finally".

Р. С. Ф. С. Р.

Пролетарии всех стран, соединяйтесь!



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IX

# ВСЕРОССИЙСКИЙ С'ЕЗД СОВЕТОВ.

## Стенографический отчет.

№ 1.

23 Декабря 1921 года.

№ 1.

### Заседание первое.

(Вечернее).

**Нахимов.** Товарищи, прошу занять места. От имени Всероссийского Центрального Исполнительного Комитета приветствую делегацию 9-го Всероссийского Съезда Советов. (Аплодисменты).

С докладом вышесом присутствуют на Съезде 1.006 человек, с делегатами — 346.

Сегодня в этот день впервые владели престолами Грузинской Социалистической Советской Республики. (Аплодисменты).

По поручению Всероссийского Центрального Исполнительного Комитета объявлю 9-й Съезд Советов Рабочих, Крестьянских, Крестьянско-Рабочих и Казачьих Депутатов открытым. (Аплодисменты). (Оратор подходит к трибуне).

**Рудутак.** Коммунистическая фракция Съезда, по соглашению с большинством, предлагает следующий состав членов Президиума Съезда: т.т. Калинин, Ленин, Зиновьев, Каменев, Бухарин, Троцкий, Сталин, Малков, Рудутак, Шанин, Ткачев, Рыков, Савинков, Орловский, Прокопьев, Воронин, Петровский, Алексеев, Колосов, Косыгин, Савинков, П. П. Виноградов, Сафонов, Мельников, Бортняк, Виноградов, Петрунина, Феликс Виноградов, Савинков, Калинин, Голосов.

**Нахимов.** Был ли другой предложение по вопросу о составе Президиума? Других предложений нет. Изложить, товарищи, предложение только что изложенный тов. Рудутаком состав. Кто за этот состав, прошу поднять руки. Кто против? Нет. Кто воздержался? Таких тоже нет. Состав принят единогласно.

**Ninth All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers, Peasants, Red Army and Cossack Deputies. December 23-28, 1921**

Verbatim record. - [Moscow: [b. and.], 1922]. - 22 cm.

Verbatim report of the 9th All-Russian Congress of Soviets, held on December 23-28, 1921, in Moscow. At the congress, the results of the NEP were summed up, and the Declaration on the International Position of the RSFSR was adopted.

Among the issues discussed at the congress: foreign and domestic policy of the government, the course of the new economic policy, the development of agriculture, aid to the hungry, the restoration of industry, the transformation of the Cheka into the GPU under the NKVD. The congress approved the decree of the Council of People's Commissars "On the electrification of the RSFSR", which consolidated the steps towards the implementation of the GOELRO plan.

ИНСТИТУТ МАРКСА-ЭНГЕЛЬСА-ЛЕНИНА при ЦК ВКП(б)

**ПРОТОКОЛЫ  
ОДИННАДЦАТОГО СЪЕЗДА  
РКП(б)**

ПАРТИЗДАТ ЦК ВКП(б)  
1959

### **Eleventh Congress of the RCP (b). May-April 1922**

Eleventh Congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) was held in Moscow from March 27 to April 2, 1922, Moscow. 687 delegates from 532,000 party members, and 165 with an advisory vote.

The main task of the congress was to sum up the results of the first year of the implementation of the NEP. In the political report of the Central Committee, Lenin declared that the retreat - concessions to private capitalism - was over, a link with the peasant economy was being established, the alliance between the working class and the peasantry had strengthened, and economic achievements were evident. He put forward a new task: to halt the economic retreat and regroup forces to attack the capitalist elements. The essence of this provision was that the limits of the tolerance of capitalism in the conditions of the transition period were established and tested in practice. The expansion of the framework and possibilities for the development of capitalism in an environment of a multi-structured economy must be stopped. It is necessary to gradually involve the peasant masses in building socialism on the basis of the widespread use of trade and commodity-money relations, i.e., e. to build a new economy together with the entire working peasantry. The question "who will win?" the struggle between socialist and capitalist elements will be decided in favor of socialism. But in order to defeat capitalism, Lenin pointed out, it is necessary to learn how to manage and to prove that the communists know how to manage the economy better than the capitalists. Lenin put forward the slogan "learn to trade" and called on the communists to improve the organization of the management of the national economy, to raise culture. He sharply criticized conceit, glossing over mistakes and shortcomings; stressed the need for the correct selection and placement of personnel, the organization of a systematic verification of performance. The congress approved the political and organizational line of the Central Committee and indicated in the resolution that the concessions made to private capitalism have been exhausted and the next task is to regroup the party forces in order to launch an offensive against the capitalist elements. The resolution pointed out the need for a clearer distinction in the work of party and Soviet bodies, and drew attention

to the increased role of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and local Soviets as practical leaders of economic life. Having approved the activities of the representatives of the RCP (B) in the ECCI, the congress fully agreed with the united front tactics pursued by the Comintern.

Great importance was attached to enhancing the role of trade unions under the conditions of NEP. They should become the closest and indispensable employees of state power in all its political and economic activities. In the resolution on financial policy, measures were developed to strengthen the ruble exchange rate, increase state income, stabilize prices, etc. The resolution "On Work in the Countryside" condemned attempts to exert administrative influence on agricultural institutions. cooperation. The main task of Party work in the countryside was to provide practical assistance to the peasantry in increasing agricultural production. production. Much attention at the congress was paid to raising the theoretical and ideological level of the communists, improving the qualitative composition of the party, and strengthening its ranks. The conditions for admission to the party were changed: it was difficult for "filthy proletarian elements" to join its ranks. The congress approved the resolution of the XI All-Russian Conference of the RCP (b) "On the question of strengthening the party, taking into account the experience of checking its personnel." In a resolution on the question of the Red Army, the congress recognized it necessary to continue working to increase its combat capability. The resolution "On the tasks and purposes of the control commissions" was adopted, the "Regulation on control commissions", "Regulation on the Central Auditing Commission", "On the question of the RKSM", "On the press and propaganda", "On the issue of work among workers and peasant women ". At the last (closed) meeting, a report was heard from the commission created by the congress, which considered the issue of some members of the former "workers' opposition" (A.M. Kollontai, S.P. Medvedev, G.I. Myasnikov, A.G. Shlyapnikov, and others.), which, contrary to the decision of the X Congress of the RCP (b) (1921) on the liquidation of all factions, continued factional activity. On the eve of the congress, they turned to the Comintern with a statement in which they stated their point of view on the situation in the party and



the country, and pointed to the party's departure from the interests of the working class. The congress condemned the activities of the former members of the "workers' opposition", expelled the most vicious violators of party discipline from the party, and instructed the Central Committee, in the event of further anti-party behavior by others, to expel them from the party. In his closing remarks, Lenin criticized the speeches of Preobrazhensky, N. Osinsky (V.V. Obolensky), Shlyapnikov and others, who tried to revise the party's line in carrying out the NEP. expelled from the party the most vicious violators of party discipline and instructed the Central Committee, in the event that others manifest anti-party behavior in the future, expel them from the party. In his closing remarks, Lenin criticized the speeches of Preobrazhensky, N. Osinsky (V.V. Obolensky), Shlyapnikov and others, who tried to revise the party's line in carrying out the NEP. expelled from the party the most vicious violators of party discipline and instructed the Central Committee, in the event that others manifest anti-party behavior in the future, expel them from the party. In his closing remarks, Lenin criticized the speeches of Preobrazhensky, N. Osinsky (V.V. Obolensky), Shlyapnikov and others, who tried to revise the party's line in carrying out the NEP.

The 11th Congress was the last one attended by Lenin. At the first meeting of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) elected by the congress, JV Stalin was elected General Secretary of the Central Committee.

The XI Party Congress took place a year after the start of the New Economic Policy. This was the first year passed without armed intervention, without attacks on us by the capitalist states.

The replacement of food appropriation by the food tax and the permission of local trade gave an impetus to the restoration of agriculture, and at the same time to raise all the productive forces of the country.

Already in November 1921, at the Second Congress of Political Education, Lenin noted a noticeable improvement in the economic situation of the peasantry. In December of the same year, speaking at

the Ninth Congress of Soviets, Lenin cited figures showing the beginning of the restoration of large-scale socialist industry. On the basis of these positive results of the first year of NEP, Lenin announced at a meeting of the communist faction of the All-Russian Congress of Metalworkers on March 6, 1922, that the economic retreat had ended. "Enough, we will not go further back, but we will focus on correctly deploying and grouping forces."

The party began to fulfill the main task of NEP: building the foundation of the socialist economy.

In order to build such a foundation, it was necessary to create a large-scale industry, for "the only possible" Economic basis of socialism, Lenin wrote, is large-scale machine industry. "

But the development of large-scale industry was possible only if there was an upsurge in agriculture. The ruined, impoverished small peasant was unable to raise agriculture on his own. It was necessary to help the peasant. It was necessary to prove "that we know how to help him — Lenin said — that the Communists ... are helping him now in practice". "We are building our economy in connection with the peasantry", therefore, "you need to know — said Lenin — that the main, decisive task of NEP, subordinating everything else to itself, is to establish a bond between the new economy that we have begun to build (very bad, very clumsily, but still they began to build ...) and the peasant economy, which is home to millions and millions of peasants"

The question of the link between socialist industry and the peasant economy became a question of the very existence of Soviet power. "The question of the bond — said Comrade Stalin — is the question of the existence of our industry, the question of the existence of the proletariat itself, the question of the life and death of our republic, the question of the victory of socialism in our country."

The main meaning of this Leninist slogan was that "in the simplest, easiest and most accessible way for the peasant" gradually lead him to the main thing: to the socialist remaking of agriculture.

The main link that had to be seized upon in order to find a link between socialist industry and the peasant economy was trade at this

stage. In this one! the region faced a very serious competition with private capitalism.

"The task is," said Comrade Stalin, "to use the efforts of millions of small proprietors to seize trade, take over the main supplies of the countryside and the city into the hands of the state and cooperatives, and thus organize an inseparable link between industry and peasant economy, an indissoluble bond.,

Therefore, the slogan "learn to trade" sounds like a battle order in all Lenin's speeches at the XI Congress. Either we will prove in the coming year that we have learned to manage, "or — Lenin said — Soviet power cannot exist".

In connection with the cessation of the retreat and the regrouping of forces for the transition to the socialist offensive, the class struggle has intensified and become more complex, both inside! countries and the struggle of the capitalist world against the Soviet Union. A new form of struggle by international capital against Soviet power was the convening of "economic" conferences in Genoa and The Hague in order to force the Soviet government to capitulate to world imperialism. A new form of struggle against Soviet power was the changeover of the "new bourgeoisie, growing and gradually closing in on the kulak and with the service intelligentsia"

Thus, although there was no direct onslaught on us, we were not grabbed by the throat, as Lenin put it, "nevertheless, the struggle against capitalist society became a hundred times fiercer and more dangerous, because we do not always clearly see where it is against us. enemy, and who is our friend ...

New tasks and new conditions of struggle have raised before the Party the question of restructuring all Party, trade union and economic work. The selection of people and the verification of execution were highlighted by Lenin.

New tasks required new qualities from the communists. Devotion to the revolution, the ability to win on military fronts, had to be supplemented by the ability to manage the economy by knowledge of the concrete task entrusted by the party. "The whole point now,"

Lenin said at the congress, is that the vanguard should not be afraid of the task of working on itself, remaking itself, openly admitting its insufficient preparation, insufficient skill. "

Pointing out to the congress all the difficulties and dangers of NEP, Lenin declared with unshakable firmness that we would undoubtedly overcome all these difficulties, provided that there was no intervention and we did not make political mistakes. Lenin emphasized that the most important condition for victory over difficulties is the observance of the strictest party discipline and the preservation of party unity. Lenin noted that the party was carrying out the new economic policy with extreme unanimity, that this unanimity was achieved by the party in the struggle on two fronts - against the right-wing opportunistic perversions of the essence, tasks and ways of pursuing the new economic policy and against leftist resistance to the introduction of the new economic policy , against attempts to violate the unity of the party by representatives of the old, defeated opposition groups - Trotskyists, "workers' opposition", "democratic centralism", etc.

At the Eleventh Congress, these groups resumed their struggle against the party along all lines. The frank interpretation of the new economic policy by Shlyapnikov, Medvedev and Kollontai as a policy of retreat, the interpretation of Lenin's slogan "linking with the peasant economy" as a slogan allegedly going along the line of searching for a base outside the proletariat, found a response in the more or less veiled speeches of Trotsky, Zinoviev and Drums, Kamenev ...

A new attempt to push through the views condemned by the party were the speeches of the leaders b. The 'workers' opposition ', as well as Ryazanov and Trotsky on the question of trade unions. The latter's slanderous statement that the theses of the Central Committee on trade unions "entirely follow" from his, Trotsky's, old position, that the resolutions of the 10th congress allegedly "did not suffice even for a year", was clearly aimed at discrediting the decisions of the 10th party congress.

A direct distortion of the history of Bolshevism and a revision of Lenin's theory of the proletarian revolution was Zinoviev's Trotskyist statement that until 1917 the party was unclear about the nature of the future revolution.

With Bolshevik unanimity, the congress adopted resolutions both on the Central Committee's report and on other issues on the agenda.

The congress subjected to a complete and final defeat the group of the "workers' opposition", which spoke at the congress with a demagogic aim of preparing a split in the party.

All the work of the Eleventh Congress took place from the point of view of fulfilling the main tasks set by Lenin in the political report of the Central Committee. Three groups of major issues were discussed by the Eleventh Congress after Lenin's report: 1) organizational and propaganda work of the party (party building, purging the party, strengthening the ranks of the party, the work of the party's control bodies); 2) trade unions, the Red Army, the Komsomol; 3) financial issue.

The decisions of the congress covered both sides of the main task — building the foundation of the socialist economy.

The Eleventh Congress was the last one attended and chaired by Lenin. His speeches at the X and XI Congresses, his last speeches, and articles of 1922-1923. constitute a single harmonious whole of Lenin's grandiose plan for building socialism in our country.

The further development and implementation of this great plan was carried out by the brilliant student and companion of Lenin, Comrade Stalin, elected, at the suggestion of Lenin, by the plenum of the Central Committee immediately after the XI Congress as General Secretary of the Central Committee of our party.

Under the leadership of Comrade Stalin, the building of socialism in our country is being successfully completed. By the end of the first five-year plan, the foundation of the socialist economy had been built. By the 17th Congress, the socialist system had become "the undivided dominant and sole commanding force in the entire national economy."

In an irreconcilable struggle on two fronts, in a struggle against all attempts to frustrate the cause of socialism, socialism in our country has triumphed finally and irrevocably. "NEP Russia has turned into socialist Russia" (Molotov).

The present edition of the minutes of the XI Congress has been significantly expanded in comparison with the 1922 edition. The text is checked against stenographic notes, supplemented, and clarified.

It was not possible to find a number of amendments to the resolutions mentioned in the speeches of the speakers (for example, Shumyatsky's amendments), the resolution of a conference of delegates to the 11th Congress - professionalists, etc. - was not found.

It was not possible to find the election results of the Central Auditing Commission. Obviously, the old composition of the Central Auditing Commission was re-elected — vols. Nogin, Kurski, Skvortsov-Stepanov (see verbatim report of the XII Congress).

In addition to the main text of the minutes and resolutions, this publication contains the following sections: 1) Lenin and the XI Congress; 2) Materials of the Congress and 3) Appendices.

The section "Lenin and the XI Congress" contains documents characterizing Lenin's preparation for the congress ("Plan of the political report of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) at the XI Party Congress", "Letter to VM Molotov about the plan of the political report at the XI Congress", "Speech plan at the congress on March 27, 1922 "), his work at the congress (" Recording of the debate on the report of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) at the XI Party Congress ", " Outline of the plan for the final word on the report of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) at the XI Party Congress ", etc. .), and a number of other important Leninist documents, for example "On the conditions for the admission of new members to the party. Two notes to VM Molotov ", in which Lenin asks to submit to the plenum of the Central Committee a proposal to extend the length of service for admitting new members to the party, proposing to leave six months of experience only for those workers who have actually worked at large industrial enterprises for at least 10 years. in order to hinder access to the party for people who have not gone through a

serious factory school, in spite of Zinoviev, who offered too short periods of candidate experience.

"Letter on Preobrazhensky's Theses" and "Letter to Comrade Osinsky" expose and sharply criticize the attempts of Preobrazhensky and Osinsky to revise the beginning of the New Economic Policy, expressed in their demand to include in the agenda of the Eleventh Congress the question "On Party Policy in the Countryside", already decided by the party. Of extreme interest is the "Note by V. I. Lenin, 'to L. Kamenev ...'" at the end of the section, in which Lenin demands the correction of the erroneous decision of the congress regarding the publication of announcements in Pravda (see note No. 173).

The section "Materials of the Congress" publishes reports of the Central Committee and its departments and the theses of the Central Committee for the XI Congress, lists of delegates to the Congress, the report of the XI Congress commission on the group of the former "Workers' Opposition", etc. For the first time, three documents stored in the IMEL archive are published: 1) Initial draft regulation on control commissions; 2) The initial draft of the regulations on the Central Auditing Commission and 3) Resolutions adopted at a meeting of military delegates to the XI Party Congress.

In the section "Appendices" there are: a notice from the Central Committee on the convocation of the congress and a message on the order of the day of the congress; a circular on the purge of the party; an article "on the results of verification, revision and purge of the party"; materials on the issue of the group of "workers' opposition" at the XI Congress, card for the registration of All-Russian and provincial congresses and conferences.

This edition of the minutes of the XI Congress is supplied with notes, subject and name indexes and indexes of speakers, local party organizations and literary sources. Work on the preparation for publication of this publication was carried out by E. Ye. Steinman (prepared) and I. A. A. Ivanov (working editor),

REGULATIONS OF THE XI CONGRESS

1. The Presidium of the Congress is elected in the number of ... people and ... secretaries.
2. Sessions of the Congress take place from 10 am to 3 pm and from 6 pm to 10 am.
3. Speakers will have 45 minutes and 25 minutes for closing remarks.
4. Each voting group of 40 delegates may nominate their own speaker.
5. Speakers are given the floor for the first time 15 minutes, for the second time, 5 minutes.

Each question can only be spoken twice.

6. Personal statements, extraordinary inquiries and statements and factual remarks shall be submitted to the presidium in writing and announced by decision of the presidium. Extraordinary requests and statements signed by at least 20 delegates are announced immediately, no debate on requests and statements is allowed.

7. Words to order and proposals are introduced to the presidium in writing.

8. One "for" and one "against" is allowed to speak to the order no more than 3 minutes.

9. With regard to proposals, the floor is given to one "for" and one "against" for 5 minutes.

10. For reasons of voting, 3 minutes are given after voting.

11. All questions are decided by a simple majority of votes.

At the request of 15 comrades with casting votes, a roll-call vote must be taken.

12. The Presidium is given the right to form sections on individual items on the agenda or on individual detailed questions of party work. Section resolutions are forwarded to the congress presidium.



# Всероссийская конференция

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(Большевик)

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## БЮЛЛЕТЕНЬ.

№ 1.

5 августа 1922 г.

№ 1.

### ЗАСЕДАНИЕ ПЕРВОЕ

из книг

(Дополн. 4 августа).

**П. М. Касанович:** По поручению Центрального Комитета объявляю вторую конференцию партии открытой. Естественно, что в 1950-е годы, которые являются на этой конференции, было посвящено вопросу, который был мне больше всего интересен и который волнует мировую прессу, — а именно о здоровье Владимира Ильича. Вы знаете, товарищи, что по первому раз враги Советской России и мировой революции ставят свою ставку на прекращение революционной работы Владимира Ильича. Вы знаете, что они положили отравленное оружие в руки партии социал-демократов для того, чтобы попытаться добиться прекращения революционной работы Владимира Ильича. Вы знаете, что они обманулись в своих расчетах и что сейчас, в этот момент, из Колонии после Дома-Совхоз на проспекте до конца вышло все лицемерие, вся контр-революционная сущность врагов народа, у которых не нашлось ни одной мыслишки и ни одной капли крови, чтобы противостоять мировой буржуазии, превратившей их в орудие покушения на пролетарскую революцию и на ее вождя. Но их расчеты не оправдались.

Никакого вреда тому не было, когда сверхчеловеческая, неустанная, многолетняя работа Владимира Ильича привела к промывке перерыву в его деятельности, мировая буржуазия была ошарашена, но я должен и могу сказать теперь, что и эти надежды мировой буржуазии распадаются, и что и на этот раз наши враги глубоко обманулись из своих гнусных расчетов. (Аплодисменты). Здоровье Владимира Ильича, его силы не только восстанавливаются, но, можно сказать, уже восстановились. (Аплодисменты). Это — замечательное авторитетнейших врачей, и русских, и иностранных; их единодушное мнение заключается только в том, что Владимиру Ильичу нужен только временный отдых. Это замечание врагов может быть подтверждено личными наблюдениями членов Политбюро, которые за последние две недели имели возможность видеть Владимира Ильича и беседовать

## **Twelfth Party Conference of the Russian Communist Party (b) August 4-7, 1922**

The Twelfth All-Russian Conference of the RCP (b) was held in Moscow on August 4-7, 1922. 129 delegates with a casting vote and 92 with an advisory vote took part. Order of the day:

- 1) On the international situation (speaker G. Ya. Sokolnikov);
- 2) About trade unions (speaker MP Tomsy);
- 3) Party work in cooperation (lecturer V. V. Kuibyshev);
- 4) On Anti-Soviet parties and trends (lecturer G. E. Zinoviev);
- 5) On the work of the statutory section (lecturer VM Molotov);
- 6) On improving the material situation of party members (lecturer VM Molotov);
- 7) On the IV Congress of the Communist International (lecturer G. E. Zinoviev).

The conference sent greetings to V. I. Lenin, who due to illness was unable to take part in its work. The conference took place in an atmosphere when, on the basis of the new economic policy, new successes were achieved in restoring the national economy. The international situation at the time of the conference was characterized by attempts by the imperialist circles of the United States, Britain, and France to achieve unilateral concessions from Soviet Russia through dictates and ultimatums, shown at the 1922 Genoa Conference and the 1922 Hague Conference and rejected by the Soviet delegation. The conference approved the line of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) the activities of the Soviet delegations in Genoa and The Hague, drew attention to the need to concentrate all efforts on strengthening the national economy and strengthening the defense capability of the Republic at the proper level. After discussing the trade union question, the conference noted that despite a series of practical shortcomings, "the entire experience of carrying out the trade union tasks that had been outlined by the Eleventh Congress had completely

confirmed the correctness of the line of the Eleventh Congress of the RCP" (KPSS v rezoliutsiiakh. 8th ed., vol. 2, 1970, p. 396). The conference called on party organizations to strengthen their ideological leadership of the trade unions. The discussion of the party's tasks in the cooperative system proceeded from the point of view of increasing the guiding role of the working class and party organizations in the development of all forms of cooperation.

In the resolution On Anti-Soviet Parties and Tendencies, the conference pointed to the danger of the growing activity of bourgeois elements, which had revived in the first year of the NEP, and provided a class evaluation of smenovekhovstvo (the change of landmarks movement), as an ideology that was appearing among a section of the bourgeois intelligentsia. The conference mobilized the party and the working class for a more active struggle against all parties and tendencies hostile to Soviet power, which viewed the NEP as a return to capitalism, as the beginning of the degeneration of Soviet power. The conference maintained that one of the most immediate tasks of the Communist Party was intensifying the party's ideological work and the struggle against bourgeois ideology.

The conference adopted new Party Rules, which established three categories for those joining the RCP (Bolshevik) depending upon their social position, thus ensuring the selection of the best people from among workers and laboring peasants under the conditions of that time and impeding the entry of individuals from nonproletarian strata of the population.

Российская Социалистическая Федеративная Советская Республика.

*„Пролетарии всех стран, соединяйтесь!“*

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ДЕСЯТЫЙ

ВСЕРОССИЙСКИЙ

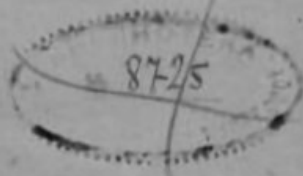
СЪЕЗД СОВЕТОВ

РАБОЧИХ, КРЕСТЬЯНСКИХ, КРАСНО-  
АРМЕЙСКИХ и КАЗАЧЬИХ ДЕПУТАТОВ.

(23—27 декабря 1922 года).

*Стенографический отчет с приложениями.*

ГНБ  
ОБН ФОНД  
ПРОВ. 1952 г.



Издание ВЦИК.  
Москва 1923 Ктеиль.

**Tenth All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers, Peasants, Red Army and Cossack Deputies. (23-27 Dec. 1922).**

Verbatim Record: With Attachments. - Moscow: All-Russian Central Executive Committee, 1923. -- 226

Verbatim report of the All-Russian X Congress of Soviets, held on December 23-27, 1922, in Moscow and attended by 1,727 delegates from the RSFSR and 488 honored guests from the Ukrainian SSR, the Byelorussian SSR, and the Transcaucasian SFSR—delegates to the First Congress of the Soviets of the USSR, which was soon to be convened. In terms of party membership, the delegates and guests at the Tenth All-Russian Congress of Soviets included 2,092 members and candidate members of the RCP (Bolshevik), 118 nonparty delegates, and five members of other parties. Of those attending the congress, 44 percent were workers, 31 percent peasants, and 25 percent office workers, students, and members of other social strata.

The congress adopted a resolution on the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and elected a delegation from the RSFSR to sign the Treaty on the formation of the USSR.

The first item on the agenda was the report of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars on the domestic and foreign policy of the republic, which was read by L. B. Kamenev. A report on the condition of the state's industry was delivered by P. A. Bogdanov, chairman of the All-Russian Council on the National Economy, and there were also reports by the People's Commissariat for Agriculture (P. A. Mesiatsev), the People's Commissariat for Education (A. V. Lunacharsky), and the People's Commissariat for Finances (G. Ia. Sokolnikov). The proposal of the soviet republics for the establishment of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was presented by J. V. Stalin, and elections to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee were held.

The **congress approved the domestic and foreign policy** of the government of the RSFSR. Considering the new conditions of the country's economic and political life, which demanded the unification of the soviet republics into one state, the congress adopted a resolution recognizing the timeliness of the unification of the RSFSR,

the Ukrainian SSR, the Byelorussian SSR, and the Transcaucasian SFSR into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. A delegation was elected to the First Congress of the Soviets of the USSR to devise a draft of the Declaration and Treaty on the formation of the USSR.

The Tenth All-Russian Congress of Soviets affirmed a resolution on the condition of industry, pointing out the necessity for increasing the supply of raw materials for light industry and improving the financing of heavy industry. A resolution was adopted on measures designed to strengthen and develop agriculture by encouraging and aiding the work of agricultural cooperatives and improving agricultural training. The congress also adopted a resolution organizing the first agricultural exhibit. A broad program of popular education was first considered at the Tenth All-Russian Congress of Soviets. In financial policy, the congress worked out measures to eliminate the budget deficit. A resolution was adopted on the work of the Central Commission in the struggle against the vestiges of famine.

The Tenth All-Russian Congress of Soviets addressed an appeal to all the peoples of the world, affirming the stability of the peaceful policy of Soviet power and pointing out the necessity for disarmament.

The congress elected a new All-Russian Central Executive Committee, which was made up of 270 members and 118 candidate members.

# ДВЕНАДЦАТЫЙ СЪЕЗД РКП /б/

СТЕНОГРАФИЧЕСКИЙ  
ОТЧЕТ

## **Twelfth Congress of the RCP (b). April 17-25, 1923.**

The XII Congress of the RCP (b) was held on April 17-25, 1923 in Moscow.

The Congress was attended by 458 delegates with a casting vote and 417 delegates with an advisory vote, representing 386 thousand party members. The Congress was attended by representatives of the Comintern, Profintern, the Communist International of Youth, fraternal communist parties of foreign countries.

The congress discussed the following issues: 1) Report of the Central Committee; a) political (G. Ye. Zinoviev), b) organizational (I. V. Stalin); 2) Report of the Audit Commission (V.P. Nogin); 3) Report of the Central Control Commission (MF Shkiryatov); 4) Report of the Russian representative in the Executive Committee of the Comintern (NI Bukharin); 5) On Industry (L. D. Trotsky); 6) National moments in party and state building (I. V. Stalin); 7) Tax policy in the countryside (LB Kamenev, MI Kalinin, G. Ya. Sokolnikov); 8) On regionalization (A. I. Rykov); 9) Election of the central bodies of the party.

The XII Congress of the RCP (b) was the first after the Great October Socialist Revolution, at which V. I. **Lenin could not attend** due to a serious illness. But both the preparations for the congress and the congress itself passed under the banner of the implementation of Lenin's proposals contained in his last articles. The verbatim report of the XII Congress of the RCP (b) was first published in 1923. A special editorial commission, approved by the Organizing Bureau of the Central Committee, worked on the preparation for publication. By decision of the Politburo of the Central Committee, the texts of the main reports in the first edition of the verbatim report of the XII Congress were published in an expanded edition.

Verbatim report of the XII Congress of the RCP (b), as well as preparatory materials and documents (minutes of meetings of the Politburo, Orgburo, Secretariat, Plenums of the Central Committee, verbatim records of congresses of the Communist Parties of the Union republics, conferences of local party organizations, reports of the Central Committee and its departments, abstracts of reports for the



congress, etc. .) are the main sources for studying the activities of the CPSU in the period between the XI and XII Party Congresses.

The XII Congress of the RCP (B) was held in the difficult international and internal situation of the Soviet Union.

By this time, the foreign policy position of the Soviet state had strengthened. Although the imperialist countries widely used threats and provocations against the Soviet Republic, the post-war economic difficulties, aggravated by the economic crisis that broke out in 1920, pushed them on the path of establishing economic and diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union has already been recognized *de jure* and *de facto* by several states. Between the young Soviet republic and the imperialist world, as V.I. Lenin noted, a certain balance was established, albeit extremely fragile. The Soviet state pursued a Leninist foreign policy designed for peace among peoples, for peaceful coexistence with capitalist countries, frustrating the provocative actions of the imperialists. Emphasizing the invariable striving for peace, VI Lenin said in 1921: "... we value the preservation of peace and the full opportunity to devote all our efforts to the restoration of the economy ...".

Having suffered a military defeat in 1918-1920, the imperialists hatched plans for the economic strangulation of the Soviet Republic. They refused loans to the Soviet state, demanded payment of all the pre-war debts of the tsarist government, full return to the former foreign owners of the nationalized industry. They believed that the Soviet state would not be able to overcome the economic devastation and famine in the country and would agree to enslaving agreements with the capitalist states. Lenin pointed out that the methods of the **imperialists' struggle "against us took on a less military form, but in some respects more difficult and more dangerous for us."** And yet the imperialist plans to enslave Soviet Russia have failed completely.

However, **the danger of a direct military attack by the imperialist states** on the Land of the Soviets was not removed. "We must remember," wrote V. I. Lenin, "that we are always by a thread from any invasion". Therefore, strengthening the defensive capability of

the Soviet Republic remained the most important task of the Party and the Soviet state.

The economic and political situation of the country was strengthened on the basis of the new economic policy. In 1922, the main industries gave a significant rise in production, with especially high rates of development of small-scale industry, textiles, production of agricultural machinery, etc. Compared with 1921, iron smelting increased by 54%, steel - by 45%, coal mining - by 19%, oil — by 23%, electricity production — by 49% • Over the year, the gross industrial output increased by one and a half times, the first significant investments were made in its development. The introduction of cost accounting at industrial enterprises in the second half of 1921 had a beneficial effect on the development of the country's national economy. The work of the railway has improved. transport, the turnover of which increased by 30%. The Soviet ruble and the financial system were gradually strengthening, which was of great importance for the national economy. Trade has improved. The party was implementing Lenin's plan for the electrification of the country. In 1922, the Krasny Oktyabr regional power plant near Petrograd and the first stage of the Kashirskaya power plant in the Moscow province were put into operation. The construction of these power plants under difficult conditions was a great victory for the working class on the economic front. The Volkhovskaya, Shaturskaya, Balaganskaya, Kizedovskaya and other local power plants were under construction. Wages have increased and the material situation of all categories of workers has improved, and labor productivity has increased.

The second year of the New Economic Policy was marked by some successes in agricultural production, achieved on the basis of the labor upsurge of the peasantry.

A good harvest was obtained in 1922. The influx of food to cities and industrial centers has increased. The enormous hardships caused by drought and famine are over.

Summing up the results of the five-year development of the socialist revolution in Russia, characterizing the general rise of the national economy in the country and, in particular, the first successes in the

development of the peasant economy, V.I. Lenin in his report at the IV Congress of the Comintern in November 1922 said: "... the peasantry for one a year not only coped with hunger, but also passed the tax in kind in such a volume that we have already received hundreds of millions of poods, and, moreover, almost without using any coercive measures. Peasant uprisings, which earlier, before 1921, were, so to speak, a common phenomenon in Russia, have almost completely disappeared. The peasantry are satisfied with their present position". A striking manifestation of the activation of the bourgeoisie on the ideological front was the "change of war", which arose among some of the White emigres. "Smenovekhovtsy" called on bourgeois specialists to cooperate with the Soviet government, hoping for the evolution of Soviet Russia in the capitalist direction. Supported by the NEP and the bourgeois intelligentsia, the Smenovekhovites carried out anti-Soviet activities in Soviet institutions, trusts, cooperatives, and others. Hostile activities against the Land of Soviets were intensified by Mensheviks, Socialist-Revolutionaries, and other counter-revolutionary groups.

**Despite significant successes, the national economy of the Soviet Republic experienced great difficulties.** The industry lacked working capital, raw materials, fuel, and unemployment grew. Heavy industry was in a very difficult position. At the end of 1922, a discrepancy between the prices of industrial and agricultural goods arose, which caused discontent among the peasants. Due to great difficulties with the sale of manufactured goods, there were interruptions in the issuance of wages. Discontent arose among some of the workers, and strikes broke out in some enterprises. An echo of these difficulties was the discussion during the preparations for the congress and at the congress itself.

The transition to a new economic policy, along with the consolidation of the position of socialism, caused the growth of a new bourgeoisie (merchants, tenants, buyers, entrepreneurs, kulaks, etc.), which fiercely resisted socialist construction. The unfolding acute economic struggle between socialism and private capital on the principle of "who - whom" was one of the main forms of the class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the working class. This struggle, Lenin pointed

out, will be even more desperate and more brutal than the struggle against Kolchak and Denikin.

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Shortly before the congress, V. I. Lenin dictated his last articles and letters: "Letter to the Congress", "On the Assignment of Legislative Functions to the State Planning Committee", "On the Question of Nationalities or on" Autonomization "," Pages from a Diary "," On Cooperation "," About our revolution (Concerning N. Sukhanov's notes) "," How can we reorganize the Rabkrin (Proposals to the XII Party Congress) "," Better less, but better. " These articles and letters of V.I. Lenin made a major contribution to the development of a plan for building socialism in the USSR, the basis of which was the idea of industrializing the country. Emphasizing that heavy industry is the main material and technical base of socialism, Lenin proposed doing everything to develop our large-scale machine industry, to develop electrification.

The party carefully and thoughtfully prepared for the congress. The entire composition of the Central Committee, the Central Control Commission, and local party organizations took an active part in the preparatory work. Preparations for the congress took place under conditions of further development of internal party democracy and great activity of party organizations. At meetings of the Politburo, the February and March Plenums of the Central Committee, issues of the country's economic development, Soviet and party building were resolved, the theses of reports at the congress, the agenda, etc. were discussed and approved. March, and instructed V. I. Lenin to speak on the first issue with the report "The Political Report of the Central

Committee". But due to Lenin's illness, the opening of the congress was postponed until mid-April.

To achieve the unity and solidity of the party, to develop the most correct policy, the Central Committee strove to involve a wide range of leading party officials and representatives of local party organizations in active participation in the preparation and holding of the congress.

By the decision of the February Plenum of the Central Committee, devoted entirely to the preparation of the congress, members and candidates of the Central Committee made reports on the activities of the Central Committee at republican and provincial conferences. The conferences unanimously approved the political line and activities of the Central Committee, which ensured the success of the party in restoring the national economy, guiding the foreign policy of the USSR, in strengthening the unity and cohesion of the party's ranks. The 10th Moscow Provincial Party Conference, held on March 31 - April 3, 1923, in a resolution adopted on the basis of the report of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), fully approved the activities of the Central Committee of the party. The conference expressed its firm conviction that the forthcoming XII Party Congress will further strengthen the Party unity and solidarity of all Communists.

The Seventh All-Ukrainian Party Conference, held on April 4-10, 1923 in Kharkov, fully approved the Central Committee's political line, which ensured the unity of the party ranks, and expressed full confidence that the XII Congress of the RCP (b) would consolidate this unity, approve the alliance of the working class and the peasantry, ensure the dictatorship of the proletariat. The conference condemned all attempts to oppose the interests of the working class and the Soviet state, which in fact lead to the undermining of the dictatorship of the proletariat. She noted that the XII Congress of the RCP (b) should especially emphasize the need to ensure that the party has actual leadership of the entire state apparatus of the Soviet Republic.

The February plenum considered the theses on national and organizational issues, decided not to publish them until the preliminary acquaintance with them (with the permission of doctors)

by V.I. Lenin, and if Vladimir Ilyich demands a revision of the theses, then to convene an emergency plenum. The plenum considered it expedient to create at the congress a section on the national question with the involvement of all delegates from the national republics and regions and with the invitation of up to 20 communists, not delegates to the congress.

In order not to give Leon Trotsky a reason to bring disagreements to the congress and in an effort to create a normal working environment, the Politburo decided to entrust him with drawing up theses and reading a report on industry at the XII Party Congress. The discussion of these theses took a lot of time and labor from the Central Committee. Theses on industry were subjected to detailed criticism at five meetings of the Politburo in February-April, at two plenary sessions of the Central Committee on February 23-24 and March 30-31, 1923. The struggle with Trotsky was especially acute on the main issues of principle: the relationship between the proletariat and the peasantry, as well as between the party and the state apparatus. In his theses, Trotsky put forward the slogan "dictatorship of industry", which meant the development of industry through the exploitation of the peasantry. Trotsky's anti-Leninist line on this most important issue of socialist construction led to the breakdown of the alliance of workers and peasants, to the downfall of Soviet power.

In March 1923, the Politburo of the Central Committee by 6 votes to 1 - Trotsky adopted two important amendments: 1) on the role of agriculture, 2) on the relationship between the party and economic bodies, obliging Trotsky to include them in the theses on industry. The first amendment stated that agriculture was of paramount importance for the entire economy of Soviet Russia. Only with the development of industry and the restoration of heavy industry, which is a solid basis for the dictatorship of the proletariat, as well as the completion of the electrification of the country, is it possible and inevitable to change the share of agriculture in the country's economy and shift the center of gravity from peasant farming to industry. The Party must systematically and persistently, without sparing any effort, hasten this process by restoring industry and heavy industry as quickly as possible. "Not only ignoring, but also insufficiently

attentive attitude to this circumstance would be fraught with innumerable dangers both in the economic sphere and in the purely political sphere, for it would inevitably undermine or weaken that alliance of the proletariat and the peasantry, the trust of the peasantry in the proletariat, which for this historical transition period, they are one of the most basic pillars of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the protection and strengthening of which is the main condition for the stability of Soviet power, and, consequently, the main task of the party ”.

The second amendment stated that the direction of the work of economic bodies was the responsibility of the party. The party's policy on this issue was attacked by Trotsky and his supporters, who demanded a greater "independence" of the economic apparatus from the party. This amendment stated: "Without for a moment forgetting its constant revolutionary educational tasks, the Party must realize that in the current construction, economic period of the revolution, the management of the work of economic agencies in the main points of Soviet construction is and should be the main content of the Party's work. The Party will only fulfill its historical mission if the economic experience of the entire Party grows along with the growth and complication of the economic tasks facing the Soviet government. Trotsky categorically objected to the introduction of a number of important amendments into his theses "On Industry".

Eight members and candidates for members of the Politburo appealed to the March Plenum of the Central Committee with a request to assess the above amendments in substance. The plenum of the Central Committee approved the amendments and instructed Trotsky to include them in the theses. But Trotsky did not comply with the resolution of the Plenum on the introduction of amendments on the peasant question. It took a new decision of the Politburo for these amendments to be introduced into the theses on industry.

In preparing the party for the congress, the publication of materials for the congress in periodicals played an important role. In the "Pre-Congress Discussion Leaflet" of the Pravda newspaper, the most important issues of socialist construction, the activities of the Central Committee of the RCP (B), theses of reports, were widely discussed,

and proposals were made. Before the congress, the journal Izvestia of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) published reports of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) and its departments, materials for the reports.

The extensive and carefully thought-out preparatory work for the congress yielded positive results. An atmosphere of high responsibility reigned at the congress, the delegates spoke boldly, openly, expressing their views, their doubts, carefully weighing and checking every position, every point of the decisions made.

The XII Congress of the RCP (B) was held on April 17-25, 1923 in Moscow. The Congress was attended by 458 delegates with a casting vote and 417 delegates with an advisory vote, representing 386 thousand party members. The Congress was attended by representatives of the Comintern, Profintern, the Communist International of Youth, fraternal communist parties of foreign countries.

The congress discussed the following issues: 1) Report of the Central Committee; a) political (G. Ye. Zinoviev), b) organizational (I. V. Stalin); 2) Report of the Audit Commission (V.P. Nogin); 3) Report of the Central Control Commission (MF Shkiryatov); 4) Report of the Russian representative in the Executive Committee of the Comintern (NI Bukharin); 5) On Industry (L. D. Trotsky); 6) National moments in party and state building (I. V. Stalin); 7) Tax policy in the countryside (LB Kamenev, MI Kalinin, G. Ya. Sokolnikov); 8) On regionalization (A. I. Rykov); 9) Election of the central bodies of the party.

Guided by the instructions of V.I. Lenin, the Central Committee of the Party developed for the congress a resolution "On the organizational question", theses on the reorganization of the Rabkrin and the Central Control Commission and on the relationship between them (resolution "On the tasks of the RKI and the Central Control Commission"), as well as resolutions "On Industry", "On the work of the RCP in the countryside", "On the national question" and others.

Responding to greetings on behalf of the congress, MV Frunze said: "Comrade Lenin was not with us at the congress, but his spirit, as the speakers who spoke repeatedly, was constantly among us, and, led by



him, we followed the path that was to us specified ... ". The congress received greetings to Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, in which it was said: "From the depths of the heart of the party, the proletariat, all the working people, the congress sends greetings and words of warm love to Ilyich, who even in these days of serious illness and long absence no less than always, he rallies the Congress and the entire Party with his personality.

More than ever, the Party is conscious of its responsibility to the proletariat and history. More than ever, she wants to be and will be worthy of her banner and her leader. She firmly believes that the day is not far off when the helmsman will return to the helm".

The workers' delegations warmly greeted the congress and the leader of the party, V. I. Lenin, wishing him a speedy recovery.

In the greeting of the workers and women workers of Krasnaya Presnya, it was said that during the period of underground activity and legal existence, "at all turns, at all sectors of the battle in the days of revolution and reaction, the working class checked its party, checking it out, appreciating it and mentally merging with it. The workers and women workers of Krasnaya Presnya declare to the XII Congress their blood ties with the RCP".

The congress was greeted by representatives of the Communist International and the fraternal communist parties. In their speeches, they pointed out that the Leninist party is the guiding star of the world communist revolution. The leaders of the delegations of the fraternal parties, emphasizing the vanguard role of the RCP (b) in the world labor movement, expressed their determination to strengthen the unity of the workers' and communist movements with all their might.

The XII Congress summed up the results of two years of the New Economic Policy and defined the tasks for the further restoration of the national economy. He noted that the new economic policy creates the necessary conditions for the accelerated development of the economy of the Soviet Union. Proceeding from Lenin's plan for building socialism, the congress comprehensively worked out concrete ways to improve all branches of the national economy.

The congress approved the political and organizational line of the Central Committee, which ensured the party serious successes in all sectors of socialist construction, and approved the activities of the delegation of the Russian Communist Party in the Executive Committee of the Comintern. The congress assured the Comintern that its Russian section considers it its primary duty to do all it can to help the fraternal communist parties in their struggle for communism.

The fact that V. I. Lenin was unable to take direct part in the work of the congress, that the documents and materials of the congress were not reviewed by V. I. Lenin dictates the need for a particularly careful approach to the verbatim record of the 12th Party Congress. In addition, it should be noted that the reports of G. Zinoviev, N. Bukharin, theses of which were not discussed or approved, in the speeches of some delegates at the congress contained a number of erroneous provisions of a principled nature, especially on the role of the party in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Distorting Lenin's teaching about the party, Zinoviev interpreted its leading role as the dictatorship of the party.

Noting the signs of the beginning of the economic revival of the country, the congress indicated that the working class and the party would direct the most energetic efforts to the development of socialist industry and, above all, heavy industry, which is the solid foundation of socialism. The congress especially emphasized the need to strengthen ties between industry and agriculture, and to strengthen the alliance between the working class and the peasantry.

"... The most important political task of the party," says the resolution on the Central Committee's report, "determines the entire outcome of the revolution: with the greatest attention and thoroughness to protect and develop the alliance of the working class with the peasantry." The Twelfth Congress emphasized that the main responsibility for the work of economic and state bodies rests with the party, which must determine and verify their work in all essential matters. "Even closer to the economy, even more attention, leadership and strength to the economic agencies — such is the party's slogan for the coming period."

The transition to peaceful economic construction on the basis of NEP demanded a strengthening of the centralized planned management of the national economy. The XII Congress pointed out that "the main planned economic work for a number of years remains the plan for the electrification of Russia approved by the Soviet government, which should remain the cornerstone of all economic efforts in the republic."

In a resolution on the Central Committee's report, the congress emphasized that the NEP situation was creating the basis for anti-Party deviations, which the Party must give a decisive ideological rebuff. Especially dangerous and destructive for the cause of building socialism are those deviations which oppose the Soviet state to the working class and the party to the Soviet state. Such views lead to the elimination of the leading role of the party in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat. "Therefore, the XII Congress especially emphasizes the need to continue to strictly adhere to tactics leading to strengthening the confidence of the peasantry in the proletariat and, on the other hand, providing the party with actual leadership of the entire Soviet, and in particular the economic, apparatus of the Soviet Republic."

The congress adopted a decision on the monopoly of foreign trade. From the end of 1921 and throughout 1922 this question was repeatedly discussed by the Central Committee of the party. At that time, there was no unanimity among the majority of the members of the Central Committee in their views on the monopoly of foreign trade. Lenin resolutely defended the inviolability of the state monopoly of foreign trade. He considered it as one of the main economic heights of the Soviet state and stressed that only on the basis of a monopoly of foreign trade, regulation of the import and export of goods can not only protect the then weak Soviet economy from the invasion of foreign capital, but also ensure the restoration and further development of the Soviet industry, to make a profit and an influx of gold fund necessary for the industrialization of the country.

- The resolution of the congress on the report of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) said: "The congress categorically confirms the inviolability of the monopoly of foreign trade and the

inadmissibility of any circumvention or hesitation in its implementation and instructs the new Central Committee to take systematic measures to strengthen and develop the monopoly of foreign trade".

The XII Party Congress discussed the issue of "On Industry" and adopted a special resolution, which highlighted the task of eliminating the backlog and further development of heavy industry, which is the only solid basis for the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialist construction. The congress especially emphasized the need to develop industry in full accordance with the interests of the working peasants, and to strengthen the bond between town and country. The party rebuffed Trotsky, who proposed developing industry by exploiting and ruining the peasants. The congress also rejected Trotsky's proposal to curtail heavy industry on the pretext that it was unprofitable and unprofitable. On the eve of the congress, Trotsky and his associates proposed to close the largest factories - Putilovsky (now Kirovsky), Sormovsky, Bryansk and other plants, to hand over the most important industries in concessions to foreign capital. The congress did not agree with the erroneous proposals of some delegates (Krasin, Radek, and others) about large concessions to the capitalist countries in order to obtain credits for the restoration of industry.

The congress paid much attention to improving the planning of the national economy. In his letter "On the Assignment of Legislative Functions to the State Planning Committee," VI Lenin pointed out the need to increase the role and scientific level of planning, and its constant improvement. VI Lenin emphasized that the State Planning Committee is called upon to become a scientific planning and economic center, working out the main issues of planning the national economy. The State Planning Commission should be "a collection of knowledgeable people, experts, representatives of science and technology" and have "the greatest data for a correct judgment about matters." It is necessary "to take a step," wrote V. I. Lenin, "towards increasing the competence of the State Planning Commission", to increase its authority, to strengthen it with highly qualified personnel,

to direct all its activities towards "implementing our plan of economic and social construction"

The congress noted that the plan for a socialist economy "cannot be established a priori, by theoretical or bureaucratic means. A real socialist economic plan, encompassing all industries in their relation to each other and the relationship of the entire industry as a whole with agriculture, is possible only as a result of long preparatory economic experience on the basis of nationalization, continuous efforts to practically coordinate the work of different sectors of the economy and correct accounting of results. " . The congress considered it necessary to give the State Planning Committee a more definite position, a firmer organization, clearer and more indisputable rights, and obligations. The congress emphasized the importance of providing the regions with the necessary independence in solving economic problems arising from their natural and production conditions. When resolving basic economic issues, the interests and rights of the national republics must be fully taken into account. "All-Union planning work should consist primarily in the correct accounting and direction of the work of individual regions and in the organic integration of regional plans and economic tasks of the all-Union order into a single plan of the USSR".

State and cooperative trade played an important role in the development of industry. The congress called on Soviet workers to direct all efforts to reduce the cost of trading costs as much as possible by reducing the sales apparatus and streamlining the sales process. Trade organizations, carefully studying the needs of the population, "should encourage light industry enterprises to more systematically and carefully adapt their production to the needs of workers and peasants."

Noting the significant shortcomings in the work of industry (lack of working capital, the work of enterprises with interruptions, insufficient workload, high production costs, etc.), the congress emphasized the need to concentrate production on the technically best equipped and geographically best located enterprises. The root of production success or failure, the decision said, is in the main industrial unit - a factory, a factory. The correct formulation of

business at each individual enterprise determines the overall success of the country as a whole. The congress pointed out that every leader must remember the principle of combining personal and public interests, be able to combine the interests of the individual worker and the entire working class, of the entire Soviet society. The director of a Soviet enterprise must pay the utmost attention to the material and spiritual needs of the workers, to their feelings and moods. But at the same time, he must not lose sight of the fact that his highest duty in relation to the working class as a whole is to raise labor productivity, reduce production costs, introduce cost accounting, and increase the amount of material wealth at the disposal of the workers' state. "Attentiveness, perseverance, and prudence are the essential qualities of a Soviet business executive. Its highest certification is the company's active balance". ^ ^ On the issue of "Tax policy in the countryside", the XII Congress adopted a special decision in which it noted the beneficial effect of the transition from food appropriation to a tax in kind on the restoration of agriculture and strengthening the alliance of the working class and the peasantry. In order to alleviate the situation of the peasantry, further develop agricultural production and improve the relationship between the working class and the peasantry, the congress decided to combine all types of direct state taxes (tax in kind, labor tax, etc.), as well as all local direct taxes into a single agricultural tax, the size of which was to be determined according to the class principle with the greatest benefit for the rural poor. The main contributions were proposed to be assigned to wealthy farms.

The unified agricultural tax eliminated the plurality of taxation, which caused just complaints from the peasantry. The resolution noted the need for a partial transition from a tax in kind to a monetary taxation, which made it possible for the peasantry to dispose of their resources with much greater freedom than before. When determining the tax, in addition to the social composition of the peasantry, the congress proposed to take into account the conditions of individual regions of the country, establish several deadlines for paying taxes, and expand the rights of peasants to freely dispose of the products of their labor. In order to raise the prices of agricultural products, the congress recognized it necessary to strive for the sale of peasant grain abroad.

The decisions of the congress "On tax policy in the countryside" were greeted by the peasantry with great satisfaction and played a significant role in strengthening the alliance of workers and peasants.

Concrete ways of raising the peasant economy, political and economic strengthening of socialist principles in the countryside were outlined by the congress in the resolution "On the work of the RCP in the countryside." The congress noted that the cooperation of the peasantry is the most important task of the Soviet state for a whole historical period and therefore the work of the party and the Soviet state was put forward in the first place to strengthen all types of cooperation, organize credit to ensure the interests of the small peasantry, and create the simplest forms of economic cooperation between the peasants. The tasks were put forward to strengthen agricultural and industrial cooperation, involve the broad peasant masses in cooperative construction, raise the cultural and technical level of peasant farming, etc. Agricultural partnerships, artels and communes should receive priority support from state bodies and, with the assistance of the Party and the state, turn into truly cultural and economic progressive economies.

Guided by the instructions of V.I. Lenin, the congress considered the most important task of the party to strengthen the alliance of the working class and the peasantry, to preserve the leading role of the working class in relation to the peasantry, and the trust of the peasants in the workers.

The most important condition for strengthening the alliance of workers and peasants was the improvement of the Soviet apparatus. The congress invited the party organizations to launch a determined struggle to eradicate elements of bureaucracy, red tape, arbitrariness, excesses, etc., and to strengthen the Soviet apparatus with honest cadres loyal to the Soviet power; to concentrate the efforts of the village party organizations on the political leadership of the activities of the Soviets, the organization of the poorest peasantry against the emerging rural bourgeoisie on the basis of the cultural, political and economic work of Soviet power in the countryside. The congress developed a number of measures aimed at strengthening the

patronage of the city over the countryside, which was one of the forms of strengthening the influence of the working class on the peasantry.

The Twelfth Party Congress paid great attention to the national question, which in the conditions of the new economic policy acquired particular importance. The congress once again consolidated in its decision the Leninist national policy: the establishment of truly fraternal relations between the working class of the former ruling nation and the peasantry of previously oppressed nationalities, the elimination of the economic, political, and cultural backwardness of nations, their actual inequality, the intensification of the struggle against Great Russian chauvinism, which was the main one at that time. danger, and against local nationalism. In a resolution adopted on this issue, the congress concretized Lenin's ideas of creating a voluntary union state, set out in a letter by V.I. This project provided for the entry of the republics into the RSFSR on the basis of autonomy rights, and not their unification as equal Soviet republics

V.I. Lenin was announced at a meeting of the seigneur-convention, and then at the delegations of the congress.

At the congress, a sharp struggle unfolded over the most important questions of the Party's national policy. Georgian national deviators tried to pursue a policy of great-power chauvinism towards the national minorities inhabiting Georgia, opposed the creation of the Transcaucasian Federation and against Georgia's entry into the USSR through the TSFSR, etc.

The leader of the Georgian national deviationists B. Mdivani, who spoke at the national section of the congress with his project of organizing the USSR, was sharply criticized. He proposed to liquidate federations, and to unite all republics, both union and autonomous, into one union. B. Mdivani's project read: "The USSR is organized from the existing independent autonomous republics and regions on an equal basis according to the principle of proportional representation". He proposed to elect the Central Executive Committee of the USSR not at the All-Union Congress, but at the republican congresses of Soviets and sharply objected to the creation of the House of Nationalities. Mdivani stubbornly and consistently



advocated the liquidation of the Transcaucasian Federation, "which, in his opinion, was artificially created ... I declare that the Transcaucasian Republic is now useless."

Speakers at the congress and at the meeting of the section M. Frunze,

S. Ordzhonikidze, A. Mikoyan, M. Orakhelashvili, Sh. Eliava, A. Yenukidze and other delegates strongly objected to B. Mdivani's erroneous proposals.

K. Rakovsky, N. Bukharin, and others. N. Bukharin, trying to defend the national deviators, denied the danger of local nationalism. He said that "there is nothing to talk about local chauvinism at this congress. This is the second phase of our struggle. " Rakovsky and Bukharin proposed to exclude the clause on the harm of local nationalism from the theses on the national question. The congress rejected all these erroneous and harmful proposals.

The resolution on the national question, adopted by the congress, provided for practical measures in state and party building, ensuring the implementation of Lenin's national policy. The most important immediate task of the party was to eliminate economic and cultural inequality between the peoples of the Soviet Union. The resolution of the congress played a huge role in strengthening the USSR, in the development of friendship between peoples. It formed the basis of all the activities of the Party and the Soviet state. The Leninist national policy of the CPSU ensured the steady and planned growth of the national economy and culture of all fraternal republics, the strengthening and expansion of ties between them, fraternal assistance to each other. The congress emphasized the international importance of the formation of the USSR as a new form of cooperation between peoples in a single union state.

Fulfilling the instructions of V.I. Lenin on the radical improvement of party and state control, the XII Party Congress decided to unite the party body - the Central Control Commission (CCC) and the state body - the Workers 'and Peasants' Inspection (RKI) in the Central Control Commission - RKI and clearly defined its tasks: to protect the unity of the party, to strengthen and improve the state apparatus in every possible way, to strengthen party and state discipline, to

organize a decisive struggle against bureaucracy, mismanagement, and abuse. Such a flexible combination of Soviet control with the party organ "is a source of extraordinary strength in our policy ... the only guarantee of successful work." In the resolution "On the Tasks of the RCI and the Central Control Commission," the congress defined the methods and directions of the work of party and state control, the tasks of the local bodies of the RCI and the Central Control Commission, pointing out the need to reform the management and management bodies on the basis of the scientific organization of labor. The combination of party and state control, the creation of a single control body - the Central Control Commission - RCI, pointed out by V.I. Lenin, will ensure the authority and effectiveness of control, strengthen the connection of the party and the state apparatus with the masses, become a powerful lever in improving the administrative and managerial apparatus, in pursuing politics party, in the successful solution of the tasks of socialist construction. Under the leadership of V.I. Lenin, a harmonious system of party-state control was created, headed by the Central Control Commission - RKI. Broad masses of the working people took part in organizing the control.

The XII Congress was held under the sign of the struggle for the unity and cohesion of the party's ranks, for the improvement and perfection of its work, from the primary organizations to the leading bodies of the party. The organizational report of the Central Committee showed the ideological growth and organizational strengthening of the party. The proportion of industrial workers in the party has grown, but the party has not yet achieved a sufficient preponderance of industrial workers among the only half a million members and candidates of the RCP (b).

In a resolution on the organizational question, the congress outlined specific measures for a systematic increase in the proportion of industrial workers in the Party. The congress recognized that the most important immediate task is to strengthen the party organizational and party educational work among party members and especially among young people. It was considered necessary for the party to strengthen its leadership of economic bodies and public organizations (trade unions, Soviets, Komsomol, cooperatives, etc.). The congress

unanimously rejected the attempts of some delegates (V. Kosior, Yu. Lutovinov, and others) to annul the decisions of the Tenth Party Congress banning factions and groupings.

The XII Congress of the RCP (B) also considered a range of issues related to ideological work and the communist education of the working people. These issues were considered and resolved in organic connection with the problems of economic and political development of the country and were reflected in the resolutions of the Congress: "On the issues of propaganda, press and agitation", "On the organization of anti-religious agitation and propaganda", "On the work of the RCP among workers and peasant women", "On the work of the RLKSM".

The XII Congress of the RCP (b) adopted the resolution "On the organizational question" developed by the Central Committee.

In accordance with the proposals of V.I. Lenin, set out in his last articles, the Central Committee has developed theses on the reorganization and improvement of the work of the central institutions of the party. The February Plenum of the Central Committee (1923) approved the theses that provided for a significant expansion of the composition of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission, the selection, placement and education of personnel and other organizational measures.

Lenin's plan to strengthen the Central Committee met with stubborn resistance from Trotsky, who, in a letter to members of the Politburo dated February 13, 1923, declared that the expansion of the Central Committee would allegedly deprive it of "the necessary formalization and stability" and "threaten to cause extreme damage to the accuracy and correctness of the Central Committee's work." In addition, Trotsky proposed to create, in opposition to the Central Committee, a Party Council of members and candidates for members of the Central Committee, members of the Central Control Commission and two dozen specially elected members of the Council. The Central Committee rejected Trotsky's objections to expanding the composition of the Central Committee, his proposal to create in the

party, in essence, a "two-center", which contradicted the Leninist norms of party life.

The XII Congress elected a new composition of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission.

Guided by the instructions of VI Lenin, the XII Party Congress significantly expanded the composition of the Central Committee and Central Control Commission. At the 11th Congress in 1922, 27 members and 19 candidates were elected to the Central Committee; the Central Control Commission has 5 members and 2 candidates, and the XII Congress elected 40 members and 17 candidates to the Central Committee, and 50 members and 10 candidates to the Central Control Commission.

The KP Congress of the RCP (b) is of great importance in the history of the party and the country. Held under the ideological leadership of V. I. Lenin, the congress unanimously adopted decisions that outline a specific program for the implementation of Lenin's ideas of socialist construction. The congress outlined concrete ways for the restoration and further development of the national economy of the Soviet Union.

The verbatim report of the XII Congress of the RCP (b) was first published in 1923. A special editorial commission, approved by the Organizing Bureau of the Central Committee, worked on the preparation for publication. By decision of the Politburo of the Central Committee, the texts of the main reports in the first edition of the verbatim report of the XII Congress were published in an expanded edition.

This publication is based on the text of the first edition of the verbatim report, verified with the original copy of the editorial commission and the verbatim record of the congress meetings stored in the Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism under the Central Committee of the CPSU, as well as the bulletins of the congress.

In this edition, in footnotes, parts of the text are published that were not included in the preparation for printing of the Congress bulletins and the first edition of the verbatim report.

Typos are corrected in the text without reservations. Quotations from the works of V.I. Lenin are verified with the Complete Works. Quotes from other sources have been verified against the originals.

The lists of delegates to the congress with decisive and advisory votes have been verified with the materials of the credentials committee of the XII congress, as well as with documents stored in local party archives. All updates to the list are included without reservation.

In comparison with the previous one, this edition of the verbatim report was supplemented with materials and documents, a preface, reference notes, as well as indexes of names, party organizations, and periodicals. The section "Materials of the Congress" contains the following documents: the composition of the Congress, materials of the organizational section. The "Appendices" include: a notice of calling the congress; the resolution of the Plenum of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the seigneur-convention of the XII Congress; report for the year of work of the Central Committee of the RCP (from the XI to the XII Congress of the RCP); materials for discussion of abstracts on industry; materials of the presidium of the congress.

For the first time, the following documents are published: amendments of the Politburo to theses on industry; a letter from members of the Politburo and candidates for members of the Politburo; JV Stalin's telegram to L.D. Trotsky; Minutes No. 2 of the meeting of the Presidium of the XII Congress of the RCP; statements to the congress presidium.

The publication was prepared for publication by S. I. Elkin, A. I. Sereda, assistants to the preparers A. V. Kuznetsov, N. A. Serbova, T. S. Chanyшева, Z. P. Kostygova took part in the preparation of the apparatus. Editors N. V. Ruban, Sh. I. Chivadze.

Institute of Marxism-Leninism under the Central Committee of the CPSU

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# **XI ВСЕРОССИЙСКИЙ С'ЕЗД СОВЕТОВ.**

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**СТЕНОГРАФИЧЕСКИЙ ОТЧЕТ.**

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**ИЗДАНИЕ**

**Всесоюзного Центрального Исполнительного Комитета.**

**МОСКВА—КРЕМЛЬ.**

**1924 г.**

## **Eleventh All-Russian Congress of Soviets. January 19-29, 1924**

Verbatim Report. - M.: VTsIK, 1924. -- 208 p.

Verbatim report of the All-Russian XI Congress of Soviets, held on January 19-29, 1924, in Moscow. The congress discussed - a report on the Union Constitution, proposals to eliminate illiteracy and the approval of the day of mourning on January 21 in connection with the **death of V.I. Lenin.**

Attended by 1,637 delegates, of whom 1,143 had a casting vote. The delegates included 834 workers and 423 peasants. Among the items on the agenda were the report of the People's Commissariat for Agriculture (A. I. Sviderski), a report **on problems of labor protection and wages** (V. V. Shmidt), and a report of the People's Commissariat for Finance on the budget of the RSFSR (M. K. Vladimirov). Also on the agenda were a report on the Union Constitution (D. I. Kurski), a report **on the eradication of illiteracy** (A. V. Lunacharsky), and a report on the election of members of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee (A. S. Enukidze).

The report of the People's Commissariat for Agriculture (January 20) presented an analysis of the Soviet government's agricultural policy. The congress proposed a number of measures designed to enlist the peasant masses in restoring agriculture on the basis of individual initiative and cooperation: the organization of an agricultural bank, the issuing of agricultural machines and implements on favorable terms, the development of long term cheap agricultural credit, grants of broad tax privileges to poor peasants, and the popularization of agricultural knowledge.

After hearing the report of the People's Commissariat for Labor (January 21), the Eleventh All-Union Congress of Soviets reaffirmed the inviolability of the eight-hour workday and the comprehensive protection of female and child labor. The congress adopted a resolution declaring that wages must be raised in accordance with the development of industry and labor productivity, and it resolved to take immediate measures to reduce unemployment.

On January 22, M. I. Kalinin announced Lenin's death. The Eleventh All-Union Congress of Soviets adopted a resolution declaring January 21 a day of mourning. The congress issued an appeal To All the Working People, calling for unity and solidarity. The sessions were suspended for one week.

On January 29, the **congress approved the Constitution of the USSR** and assigned the All-Russian Central Executive Committee the task of making corresponding changes in the Constitution of the RSFSR (1918). After the presentation of the report of the People's Commissariat for Education (January 29), the congress set a goal of eradicating illiteracy among the adult population of the RSFSR by the tenth anniversary of the October Revolution of 1917. The Congress elected 303 members and 163 candidate members to the new All-Russian Central Executive Committee.



# ТРИНАДЦАТЫЙ СЪЕЗД РКП(б)

СТЕНОГРАФИЧЕСКИЙ  
ОТЧЕТ

### **Thirteenth Congress of the RCP (b). May 1924.**

Verbatim Report. (Institute of Marxism-Leninism under the Central Committee of the CPSU. Minutes and shorthand reports of congresses and conferences of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Thirteenth Congress of the RCP (b). May 1924)

The verbatim report of the XIII Congress of the RCP (b) is one of the important sources for studying the activities of the party during the period of **the restoration of the national economy**, the development of **Lenin's plan for cooperating peasant farms**, and the **preparation of a cultural revolution**. This was the first congress after the death of the great founder and leader of the Communist Party V. I. Lenin, held under the sign of the implementation of his brilliant ideas of building socialism and communism.

The Thirteenth Congress of the RCP (b) held on May 23–31, 1924 in Moscow. There were 748 delegates with a decisive vote and 416 - with an advisory vote, who represented 735881 members and candidate members of the party (of which 241591 were candidates for the Lenin draft and 127,741 for the Dolenin draft).

Noting the great importance of Lenin's draft to the party, the congress approved the resolution of the Plenum of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) (March 31 - April 2, 1924) **on granting candidates for party members the right to a decisive vote in the election of delegates to the XIII Congress**.

In the resolution "On the Report of the Central Committee" the congress approved the political line and organizational work of the Central Committee in all fields of domestic and international politics. Confirming the resolutions of the Thirteenth Conference of the RCP (B) "On Party Building" and "On the Results of the Discussion and on the Petty-Bourgeois Deviation in the Party," **the congress condemned the platform of the Trotskyist opposition**, qualifying it as a petty-bourgeois deviation from Marxism, as a revision of Leninism.

The most important place in the work of the congress was occupied by questions of economic construction. The consistent implementation of the new economic policy, as noted by the congress,

has justified itself and ensured success in the restoration and development of the national economy. In the field of heavy industry, the congress put forward the development of metallurgy as a primary task as the basis for establishing the production of means of production and the further electrification of the country. The need for the development of light industry was emphasized, without which it was impossible to achieve a strong economic link between town and country, to create savings for heavy industry.

The main task of the party in the countryside was recognized as the all-round cooperation of the working peasantry. The resolutions "On cooperation" and "On work in the countryside" were based on the cooperative plan of V.I. Lenin. The special importance of the production cooperation of the peasantry on the basis of strict adherence to the principle of voluntariness when involving peasants in cooperatives, to encourage all types of cooperation was noted. To organize a loan available to the peasants, it was decided to create a central agricultural bank expand a grassroots credit network in counties and townships. **The congress recommended strengthening educational work in the countryside**, determined its forms: cottages, reading rooms, educational programs, adult schools, circles, and short-term courses.

The congress put forward the tasks of developing and strengthening state and cooperative trade, establishing strict control over private trade, and gradually mastering all trade. The congress approved the creation of the People's Commissariat for Internal Trade.

The resolution "On the Immediate Tasks of Party Building" indicated **the need to further increase the number of workers in the Party**, improve the work of production party members, and strengthen party bodies. The decree "On the work of control commissions" considered questions about the structure of the Central Control Commission, about improving the state apparatus and methods of work of party and Soviet control bodies.

The congress pointed out that the Komsomol is a militant mass organization, a party reserve, and drew attention to the need to educate young people on the experience and traditions of Bolshevism,

in the course of their direct participation in building socialism. It was decided to strengthen the political and cultural education of women, to expand work to involve the leading female workers and peasants in the party, to promote them to the leading party, Soviet, trade union and other bodies.

At the congress, each delegation heard and discussed Lenin's Letter to the Congress, which he dictated in late December 1922 - early January 1923.

In accordance with Lenin's proposals, the congress increased the composition of the governing bodies of the party, electing the Central Committee in the amount of 53 members and 34 candidates, the Central Control Commission - 151 people, the Central Auditing Commission - 3 people.

Considering the prospects for socialist construction and determining the fate of socialism in the Soviet country, V.I. Lenin said with firm conviction that we have everything necessary for building a complete socialist society.

Lenin considered the development of the country's productive forces, and above all the development of heavy industry capable of reorganizing agriculture, as one of the main tasks of building socialism. He always stressed that the transition to socialism of small producers, such as the bulk of the peasants, is possible only through cooperation. This Leninist position has been fully confirmed by the practice of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

Following the behests of V.I. Lenin, the XIII Congress of the RCP (b) outlined the main tasks of the party and the Soviet people in the struggle for a further rise in the economy, culture, national well-being, involving the peasants in socialist construction through cooperation, strengthening the international position of the USSR, increasing the party's leading role, strengthening her ranks,

The congress was preceded by a lot of preparatory work carried out by the Central Committee of the Party and local Party organizations. At the provincial, regional, regional conferences and congresses of national communist parties held before the congress, issues of party

building, strengthening the bond between socialist industry and agriculture, and the development of cooperation were discussed. An important place in the work of conferences and congresses was occupied by the question of the struggle against the Trotskyist opposition. Pravda wrote that the delegates "unanimously approved the line of the Central Committee and issued a resolute condemnation to those who wanted to change the Leninist principles of party organization and turn it away from the firm Leninist path." Preparing for the congress, the RCP (b) set itself the task of raising the activity of party members and all working people. To this end, the plenum of the Central Committee, held in March - April 1924, instructed the Politburo "to publish as soon as possible the theses on the outlined points of the agenda of the congress and, simultaneously with their publication, to organize a pre-congress discussion of the leaflet."

Along with the theses of reports on party building, work in the countryside, cooperation, work among young people, etc., 8 discussion sheets were published on the pages of Pravda. During the discussion of the theses, the participants in the discussion — workers, peasants, party, Soviet and economic workers — made valuable comments and suggestions regarding the work of local party, Soviet and cooperative organizations.

The question of the congress was repeatedly considered at the sessions of the plenums and the Politburo of the Central Committee. The agenda was finally clarified, the main speakers were singled out, the proposal was accepted for the congress to form commissions for work in the countryside, work among young people, and a commission for developing a plan for publishing the Works of K. Marx and F. Engels. Taking into account the desire of the Leninist appeal to quickly get involved in the active work on the implementation of the behests of V.I.

The sharp increase in the number of party members in comparison with the previous congress is explained by the entry into the ranks of the party **over 240,000 new members on Lenin's call**. There were 416 delegates with an advisory vote.

The agenda of the congress included the following questions:

- 1) On granting candidates for membership in the RCP (b) the right of a decisive vote in elections to the XIII Congress of the RCP (b).
- 2) Political report of the Central Committee.
- 3) Organizational report of the Central Committee.
- 4) Report of the Central Auditing Commission.
- 5) Report of the Central Control Commission.
- 6) Report of the representative office of the RCP (b) in the Executive Committee of the Comintern.
- 7) On domestic trade and cooperation: a) On commodity circulation and planned work, b) On cooperation.
- 8) About work in the village.
- 9) On party organizational issues.
- 10) About work among youth.
- 11) Report on the manuscripts of K. Marx and F. Engels.
- 12) Report on the work of the Lenin Institute.
- 13) Election of the central institutions of the party.

With great enthusiasm, the delegates to the congress listened to the greetings of numerous workers' delegations and representatives of the Soviet intelligentsia of our country, which served as proof of the inextricable bond of the party with the people. The greetings of the workers' collectives received at the XIII Congress testified that the working people saw in the Communist Party their leader, capable of leading the country along the Leninist path. "At this time, as before," wrote the workers of the Sormovo plant, "we completely trust only the Communist Party and swear that we, under the leadership of the old Bolshevik guard, will fully fulfill the behests of Ilyich, despite all the hardships that we have to endure."

The period between the XII and XIII congresses of the RCP (b) was characterized by significant successes in the restoration of the national economy, the growth of the international prestige of the USSR, which

exerted an ever-increasing influence on the struggle of the peoples of capitalist, colonial and dependent countries for their liberation. On the other hand, this period was characterized by a further exacerbation of capitalist contradictions, attempts to establish fascism in a number of Western European countries, and an increase in imperialist pressure on colonial and dependent countries.

Building socialism, the Soviet **state from the first days of its existence was vitally interested in peace, in the establishment of normal, good-neighborly relations** and fruitful cooperation with all countries. Proceeding from V.I. Lenin's instructions on the possibility of coexistence and peaceful competition between states with different social systems, the Party and the Soviet government achieved new successes in establishing normal relations with bourgeois countries. The policy of refraining from normalizing relations with the Soviet Union by the capitalist countries under the pretext of the fragility of Soviet power collapsed. Already from the first months of 1924 the period of recognition of the USSR began. Following England, diplomatic relations were established with Italy, Norway, Austria, Greece, Sweden. Later, other countries embarked on the path of recognition of France, whose policy in the period preceding the XIII Congress of the RCP (b) forced the Soviet government to withdraw its trade mission from Paris and almost completely terminate all economic relations.

The strengthening of the Soviet Union and the growth of its international influence aroused concern among the imperialists of all countries. In 1923, they again attempted to isolate the USSR, preparing a new armed intervention. At an international conference in Lausanne (November 1922 - July 1923), the imperialists of England, France, Italy, with the support of the United States, in order to secure a foothold for the upcoming attack on the USSR, demanded that the Soviet Union consent to free access of foreign warships to the Soviet e Black Sea coast. The Soviet Union resolutely rejected the claims of the imperialists and refused to take part in the Lausanne Conference, since it did not meet the interests of the struggle for the peace and security of peoples.

During the Lausanne Conference, British Foreign Minister Curzon on May 8, 1923 presented the Soviet government with an ultimatum, in which he demanded an end to the "anti-British policy" allegedly carried out by the Soviet government and the recall of plenipotentiary representatives of the USSR from Afghanistan and Persia. For the same provocative purposes, on May 10, 1923, V.V. Borovsky was killed in Lausanne. The ultimatum of Curzon and the murder of V.V. Vorovsky aroused general indignation of the Soviet people. The Soviet government firmly denied Curzon's accusations and refused to withdraw Soviet representatives from Kabul and Tehran.

Thanks to the firm and peaceful policy of the Soviet Union, supported by the Soviet people and the international proletariat, the aggressive plans of the imperialists were not destined to come true. In a resolution on the Central Committee's report, the Thirteenth Congress approved the foreign policy of the Soviet state and instructed the Central Committee to continue the struggle to preserve peace, develop broad economic ties and fruitful cooperation with all countries. The Party Congress instructed the Central Committee to systematically acquaint the working people of the USSR, and especially the peasants, with all the most important decisions of the Party and the Soviet government on questions of international politics.

In the period preceding the XIII Congress of the RCP (b), there were changes in the international labor movement: the wave of revolutionary upsurge that swept Germany, Poland, Bulgaria, Italy, Norway, and other countries, gave way to decline. The international proletariat, after a series of victories won, temporarily retreated. A period of temporary, partial stabilization of capitalism has begun. Under these conditions, the communist parties faced with all the urgency the need to further rally their ranks, develop a correct tactical line in accordance with the specific situation of a particular country, and overcome opportunism and sectarianism. The congress fully approved the work of the representative office of the RCP (b) in the Executive Committee of the Comintern, condemning the right deviations defended by Radek, which had nothing to do with the political line of the RCP (b).



The internal situation of the Soviet state by the XIII Congress of the RCP (b) was characterized by the further strengthening of Soviet power and the successful course of the restoration of the national economy on the basis of the new economic policy introduced at the initiative of V.I. Lenin. State industry, the leading branch of the national economy, grew, and the material situation of the working people improved. In 1923, the gross output of large-scale industry almost doubled in comparison with 1921. By early 1924, the fuel crisis had been resolved. In the USSR, more iron, steel, and electricity were produced. In 1923, the country received 382 thousand tons of pig iron, 740 thousand tons of steel and 572 thousand tons of rolled products, that is, more than two times more than in 1921-22. In 1923, seven regional power plants were being built, outlined by the Goelro plan. Transport and light industry were restored. Freight turnover of transport in 1922-23 increased in comparison with 1921-22 by 45.3 percent.

With the rise of industry and transport, the numerical growth of the working class took place, which in 1923-24 increased by 15.5 percent in comparison with the previous year. The productivity of labor in industry increased, although in 1923 it was still only 60 percent of the 1913 level. The wages of workers rose. In 1923/24 it increased by 30.6 percent in comparison with 1922/23.

Significant successes have been achieved in agriculture as well. The food crisis associated with the 1921 crop failure was eliminated, the sown area in 1924 increased to 90 percent of the 1916 level. Along with the restoration of sown areas, their cultivation improved, which led to an increase in yields. The gross harvest of grain crops in the USSR in 1923 amounted to 3475 million poods, which is 1264.7 million poods more than in 1922.

The restoration of the grain economy served as the basis for improving the food industry in the country. It became possible to use surplus grain for export, which made it possible to import equipment necessary for the restoration of industry. The production of agricultural machinery, including tractors, grew. In the first half of 1923-24, the production of tractors within the country reached 10 thousand - 8 thousand more than in the previous year.

Successes in the development of industry and agriculture contributed to the development of domestic and foreign trade. In 1923-24 the total turnover of domestic trade reached 50 percent, and the turnover of foreign trade reached 21 percent of the pre-war level. In the first half of 1923-24, in comparison with the same period in 1922-23, the export of the Soviet country increased from 39 to 148 million rubles, that is, 3.8 times. The export of grain began to play the main role in export, reaching 160 million poods by May 1924. For the first time in the postwar period, the Soviet state achieved an active foreign trade balance. The party strengthened and expanded the monopoly of foreign trade in every way.

While concentrating their main efforts on peaceful economic construction, the Communist Party and the Soviet government could not fail to take into account the presence of the aggressive forces of imperialism and therefore took measures to further strengthen the Soviet Army. In this regard, an important role was played by the practice of expanding the militia-territorial formation of the Armed Forces, which had one of the main tasks of attracting millions of working people to strengthen the country's defense capability and which, in terms of revitalizing work in the countryside, was one of the additional forms of strengthening the bond between the working class and the peasantry.

Despite the successes achieved in restoring the national economy, the ruin was not over yet. By January 1924, there were up to 1,240,000 unemployed in the industrial centers of the USSR. The direct link between industry and peasant economy was hampered by the fact that private capital held a large share in trade. If we take wholesale, retail and wholesale and retail trade turnover together, then the state had 26 percent, the cooperatives - 10 percent, and the private owner - 64 percent of the turnover. Credit in the countryside was almost entirely in the hands of the kulaks and usurers.

The economic difficulties in the country were aggravated by the fact that by the fall of 1923 a sharp discrepancy in the prices of manufactured goods and agricultural products, called "scissors", was discovered.

At this crucial time for the party, the enemies of Leninism - the Trotskyists, taking advantage of first the illness and then the death of V. I. Lenin and economic difficulties, fiercely attacked the party, hoping to turn it off the Leninist path. The signal for the unification of all anti-Party elements around Trotsky was his letter of October 8, 1923 and Statement 46 of October 15, which he did not sign due to double-dealing considerations. In a statement 46 and in a letter dated October 8, the Trotskyists, without putting forward any specific proposals aimed at improving the work of industry and agriculture, asserted that the entire line of the Central Committee in relation to NEP was allegedly wrong and that this was precisely why the Central Committee's policy was the cause of economic difficulties. Under the pretext of fighting bureaucracy, the Trotskyists attacked the party apparatus, demanding a change in its composition and structure. Not counting on the success of their platform among the main core of the party - the workers, the Trotskyists tried to win over to their side the party, mainly student youth, opposing them to the old, seasoned party cadres. Destroying the Leninist unity of the party, they demanded freedom of factions and groupings prohibited by the Tenth Congress on the proposal of V.I. Lenin.

The October Plenum of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission (1923), together with representatives of 10 party organizations, categorically rejected the anti-party proposal of the Trotskyists on economic and internal party issues, recognizing Trotsky's speech "at a crucial moment, which is being experienced by the international revolution and the party, as a deep political mistake." By disobeying the decisions of the plenum of the Central Committee, the Trotskyists imposed a discussion on the party. In the course of the discussion, which took place from November 1923 until the XIII Party Conference (January 1924), the Party gave the Trotskyists a resolute rebuff. Assessing the class essence of the Trotskyist opposition, the Thirteenth Party Conference stated that, in the face of the opposition, the party had before itself "not only a direct departure from Leninism, but also a clearly expressed petty-bourgeois deviation.

The most important place in the work of the congress was occupied by questions of strengthening the bond between socialist industry and agriculture, strengthening the alliance of the working class and the peasantry, which received their coverage in the reports of L. B. Kamenev "On internal trade and cooperation", G. M. Krzhizhanovsky "On commodity turnover and planned work ", AA Andreev" On cooperation ", MI Kalinin and NK Krupskaya" On work in the countryside "and in the speeches of the delegates to the congress. Discussion of the reports was continued in the sections on trade and cooperation, on work in the countryside.

The resolution on the report of the Central Committee indicated that the congress "approves of the timely initiative of the Party Central Committee in such fundamental questions as the question of internal trade and cooperation", which became central for a whole period of time. It noted that further successes in the economic development of the USSR will depend on a correct policy in these matters. Attaching great importance to trade, the congress proceeded from Lenin's instructions that trade was the only possible economic link between tens of millions of small landowners and large-scale industry. Without a broad development of trade between town and country, it was impossible to strengthen the economic alliance of workers and peasants, it was impossible to raise agriculture, to bring industry out of ruin. Practical measures aimed at strengthening the economic bond between socialist industry and agriculture, at developing trade and state cooperation, were set out in the resolutions of the congress "On internal trade", "On cooperation", "On work in the countryside."

During the discussion of the reports, the disdainful attitude of some communists to work in the field of trade was sharply criticized.

In the resolution "On Internal Trade," the Congress pointed out that the main task of trade policy is to organize the correct supply of the broad masses of consumers and, in particular, the peasantry through the development of state trade and cooperation. The congress approved the creation of the People's Commissariat of Internal Trade and set before all trade and cooperative organizations as the main task of mastering the market, ousting private capital from the field of trade.

Specific ways of solving this problem were outlined. The congress pointed out that the main method for mastering the market should not be administrative measures, but the strengthening of the economic positions of state trade and cooperation, the concentration in their hands of the bulk of the products needed by broad strata of consumers. The congress drew the attention of the Central Committee of the party to the need to send experienced party members to the People's Commissariat of Internal Trade and its local bodies.

The congress paid much attention to cooperation. The resolution "On cooperation" was based on Lenin's cooperative plan to familiarize the peasantry with socialism. VI Lenin substantiated the need for various forms of cooperation. He pointed out that one cannot expect to immediately involve the peasants in cooperation in its highest form. According to Lenin's plan, the peasantry must go from the lowest, supply and marketing form of cooperation to the highest - production and collective farm. At the same time, V.I. Lenin pointed out the need to strictly observe the gradual transition from one form of cooperation to another as the necessary material and spiritual prerequisites matured. VI Lenin foresaw that a whole historical epoch would be required for the realization of complete cooperation. "We can come to a good end to this era in one or two decades."

It was noted at the congress that despite some successes of the cooperative movement, it was still developing at a slow pace. By the 13th Party Congress in the USSR as a whole, consumer cooperatives covered only 7 percent of the population, and even less in Ukraine - only 2 percent; workers' cooperation covered up to 50 percent. Therefore, the congress called on the party, trade unions and cooperative workers to intensify the work of cooperating among the population.

The congress paid special attention to the cooperative movement in the countryside, putting forward the task of all-round cooperation of the broad masses of the working peasantry. The resolution "On cooperation" emphasized that "our further progress towards a socialist economy will be determined by two parallel moments: the success of the development of large-scale state industry, first of all, and the success of cooperating the population". The congress revealed

the main shortcomings in the work of the ways of their correction are outlined. The practice of uniting consumer and agricultural cooperatives, which had come to light in some places in the localities, was condemned. A serious drawback was the excessive cost of goods. The congress pointed out that the cooperatives must ensure that, in the fight against private trade, they sell their goods to the consumer below average market prices, thus encouraging him to participate in cooperatives.

In working out the question of the ways of building socialism on the basis of NEP, V. I. Lenin pointed out that the economy must be built not on direct enthusiasm, but with the help of enthusiasm, on personal interest. Lenin stressed that without certain material incentives, the peasantry cannot get involved in the transformation of agriculture on a socialist basis. The congress drew attention to the need to encourage participants in all types of agricultural cooperation with all kinds of benefits and bonuses. Specific ways were outlined to facilitate the participation of the poor and middle peasant strata of the countryside in cooperation. The congress decided to transfer the center of gravity from the provincial credit cooperatives to the organization of a grassroots network of credit cooperatives in counties and volosts, making agricultural credit available to peasants.

Along with other measures to improve the work of cooperatives both in the city and in the countryside, it was envisaged to put an end to the excessive centralization in the management of trade and credit cooperatives and to speed up the transition to a system of voluntary membership. In view of the special role to be played by the cooperatives, the congress recognized it necessary to allocate the best business executives-party members for all links of cooperative bodies from top to bottom for work in cooperation.

Considering the question of work in the countryside, the congress was guided by Lenin's instructions that we need "10-20 years of correct relations with the peasantry" - and the victory of socialism will be assured. The experience of the USSR has proved that the working class can fulfill its historical mission only in a strong alliance with the non-proletarian working masses, primarily with the peasantry.

The congress noted that in deciding the question of work in the countryside, it is necessary to proceed from the main task for the whole historical period - strengthening the alliance of the working class with the peasantry. Both in the reports and speeches of the delegates, it was indicated that on the basis of the correct policy of the party in the countryside, the productivity of agricultural production increased and the well-being of the peasantry improved, the activity and political influence of the middle peasant masses and wealthy strata of the peasantry increased. At the same time, two lines were outlined in the countryside: capitalist, expressed in the growth of kulak farms, and socialist - involving the poor and middle peasants of the village in cooperation.

While putting forward the task of involving the peasantry in every possible way in cooperation, the congress at the same time warned against haste in this matter, against the pursuit of form and number, since this could only delay the actual cooperation of the working peasantry.

In the decisions of the congress, great importance was attached to improving the work of the peasant organizations for mutual assistance. The congress made it a duty to all party and Komsomol organizations in the countryside to seek, through the committees for mutual assistance, the implementation of certain statutory benefits for the poorest strata of the village (preferential forest leave, distribution of seed loans, credit, etc.). By rallying the poor and involving the middle peasantry in their composition, the committees of mutual assistance thereby contributed to the cooperation of the rural population.

Proceeding from the Leninist thesis that without the support of the working class it is impossible to raise the political and cultural level of the peasantry, the congress recognized it necessary to strengthen and expand the patronage of the city over the countryside, giving it a planned and systematic character. The communists working in the countryside were tasked with learning how to manage agriculture through practical work. To this end, the congress indicated that the Communists sent to the countryside must first go through a

preparatory school, which has the greatest economic, cultural, and political significance for the given region.

A significant place in the work of the congress was occupied by the issue of the cultural revolution and the communist education of young people, which received its coverage in the reports of MI Kalinin, NK Krupskaya, NI Bukharin, in the speeches of the delegates of the congress and in the resolutions of the congress: "On cultural work in the countryside", "On work among women workers and peasants", "On work among young people". Attaching great importance to the cultural revolution already at the first stage of socialist construction, the party proceeded from V.I. Lenin's instructions that without the elimination of such a terrible legacy of old Russia as the massive illiteracy of the population, it is impossible to achieve active participation of the working people in the construction of a new life. A survey of the illiterate population from 1 to 40, carried out in 1923 throughout the Soviet Union, showed that it was necessary to educate 27 million people, including about 17 million people aged 18 to 35. This task was made difficult by the fact that there were few schools in the village, and there were not enough teachers. The state was not yet able to provide sufficient material for the teachers, and they were engaged in various crafts in search of means of subsistence. There were not enough textbooks, newspapers, and other school supplies, which were also very expensive. NK Krupskaya in her report cited the following facts: the price of 20 old textbooks was equal to 50 poods of rye; pencil - 10 pounds of bread, ABC book - 1 pound of bread, textbook "History" of Pokrovsky - 3 pounds of bread.

The decisions of the congress indicated that all political work in the countryside should be associated with work to raise literacy and disseminate the most elementary knowledge. The congress indicated that the volost reading-room should be the support point and center of all this work in the countryside. The task of the party organizations was to get closer to the best part of the rural and urban teachers, agronomists, and other layers of the working intelligentsia, paying attention to the improvement of their material situation.



The congress pointed out the need to deploy anti-religious propaganda, the basis of which should be a materialistic explanation of the phenomena of nature and social life. At the same time, the attention of party organizations was drawn to the need for a careful approach to the believer, who can only be re-educated by hard and long work.

The congress paid much attention to work among women. Following Lenin's instructions that the construction of socialism would begin only when millions and millions of women took part in it instead of hundreds of women, the congress proposed to the party organizations to launch extensive work to promote female workers and peasants to all party and Soviet elected bodies. The most widespread organization uniting workers and peasants at that time was the delegate meetings of women. In the period between the XII and XIII congresses of the RCP (b), the number of delegates in the city increased from 37 thousand to 46 thousand, in the villages the number of female delegates-peasants for the same period increased from 53 thousand to 100 thousand.

In the resolution "On work among female peasant women," it was noted that, along with the existing achievements, the participation of female workers and peasants in party, Soviet, professional, and cooperative construction is far from sufficient. The congress called on party organizations to contribute to the development and improvement of delegate meetings, to nominate female workers and peasants to elected Soviet, cooperative and other bodies, to increase attention to the construction of nurseries and canteens, developing the initiative of the workers themselves in this direction.

The XIII Congress of the RCP (B) comprehensively discussed the issue of improving the state apparatus, which was also very acute at the XII Congress of the RCP (B). Lenin showed great concern for the systematic improvement and reduction of the state apparatus, for the eradication of bureaucracy. In this he saw the most important condition for the successful construction of socialism.

In the report of the Central Control Commission, V.V. Kuibyshev showed that for the period from March 1, 1923 to March 1, 1924, the

contingent of employees of state institutions was reduced by 12 percent. The apparatus of the military department was also reduced - by 40 percent. However, the report noted that there are major shortcomings and omissions in the structure of the state apparatus. Practical measures aimed at improving the state apparatus were outlined in the resolution "On the work of control commissions." It said that the party would be able to fulfill this immensely important task only if the masses of workers and peasants were drawn into the direct work of governing bodies and economic development.

The congress decided to improve information on the work of the Central Control Commission and the Central Control Commission and the administrative and economic bodies, as well as to intensify the agitation and propaganda of V.I. Lenin's ideas, which he used as the basis for the reorganization of the RCI and the Central Control Commission.

The congress discussed the issue of work among young people and its communist organization - the RKSM. The resolution "On Youth" stated that the victory of the socialist economy will largely depend on how the party succeeds in ensuring the communist education of the younger generation. The congress pointed out that the Komsomol, being a mass youth organization, is the party's reserve and a conduit for its influence on broad circles of workers 'and peasants' youth. The decision of the congress emphasized that the Komsomol members should be the first assistants of the party in political, administrative-Soviet, economic, and educational work both in the city and in the countryside.

Taking into account that the Marxist-Leninist world outlook is of great importance for the communist education of young people, the congress considered it necessary to organize a systematic study of the history of the party, its program, tactics, and organizational principles. Noting the great importance of the social sciences in the ideological education of the working people, the congress pointed out that social science can fulfill its tasks only if it is connected with life. At the same time, the congress drew attention to the inadmissibility of underestimating the Marxist-Leninist theory, on which the party has always relied in its activities, guided by Lenin's instructions that

only in work, together with workers and peasants, can one become a real communist, of all types to establish a lively connection with production, which is of exceptional importance for the education of the young generation and teaching them labor skills.

The congress widely discussed issues of internal party life and party organizational development, which were covered in the political and organizational reports of the Central Committee (speakers - G.E. Zinoviev and I.V. Stalin), the report of the Central Control Commission, made by V.V. Kuibyshev, in a report on party organizational issues by VM Molotov and in the speeches of the delegates to the Congress - EM Yaroslavsky, Ya. E. Rudzutak, LB Krasin and others.

The economic upsurge in the country was accompanied by an increase in the political and social activity of the working class and peasantry. This was reflected in the strengthening of the party's ties with the masses, the revitalization of the work of the Soviets, trade unions, cooperative, cultural, educational, and other organizations. In all mass organizations, especially in the leading organizations, the party stratum has increased.

The congress emphasized with particular force the importance of the Leninist appeal for improving the qualitative composition of the party and nominating new members for practical work.

The congress paid great attention to the question of further democratizing party life. He emphasized that "the deployment of internal party democracy in the present conditions is all the more important because the new numerous proletarian cadres of the party should become, as soon as possible, active participants in party life and active participants in the development of a collective party opinion".

The congress approved the work of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission on checking the personnel of the university and Soviet cells, indicating that it was undertaken in a timely manner and correctly. The congress noted that the strictest observance and development of the Leninist norms of party life is of

tremendous importance not only for our party, but for the entire international communist movement.

Considering that the party had grown due to the Leninist draft and that production issues began to occupy an increasing place in the work of party cells in enterprises, the congress decided to expand the composition of the bureaus of production cells and district committees. In order to create more favorable conditions for the growth and promotion of party cadres, the congress established for the secretaries of provincial committees, instead of the mandatory pre-October party experience, six years of experience.

**The Thirteenth Party Congress resolutely rebuffed the Trotskyist** opposition. Both in the reports and in the speeches of the delegates to the congress, it was unanimously noted that the Central Committee of the Party had correctly identified the ways out of the difficulties of 1923 associated with the marketing crisis. The Trotskyists sought the reasons for the difficulties that arose not in the economy, not in the classes, but only in the shortcomings of leadership on the part of individual leaders of the Party and the Central Committee. Under the guise of criticizing the activities of the Central Committee, they tried to denigrate the successes in economic and cultural development, they did everything possible to disrupt or hinder the implementation of economic plans. **The Trotskyists opposed the active balance, against the implementation of monetary reform, lower prices for manufactured goods,** and proposed increased export of manufactured goods from abroad, which would inevitably put the USSR in dependence on the capitalist countries, would lead to the elimination of the monopoly of foreign trade, to undermine our industry ... The XIII Congress of the RCP (B) approved the political line and organizational work of the Central Committee of the party, which was subjected to fierce attacks from the opposition, and indicated that in a difficult and difficult situation the Central Committee ensured the success of the party in all areas of work. Trotsky and Preobrazhensky, who spoke at the congress, tried to justify their anti-Party behavior. In his speech, Trotsky, demagogically interpreting the principles of internal party democracy, expressed disagreement with the qualification of his

actions as a petty-bourgeois deviation in the party. Preobrazhensky tried again to prove the correctness of his economic "amendments", spoke out against the party cleansing of non-production cells, against the prohibition of factions and groupings.

Delegates of the Congress K.M. Guly, A.V. Ivanov, G.I. Gnutenko, S.S. Zakharov, Y. E. Rudzutak, E.M. Yaroslavsky, V.V. Kuibyshev and others, as well as I. In his concluding remarks on the organizational question, V. Stalin noted that the Trotskyists sought to destroy the organizational structure of the party created by V. I. Lenin, to weaken the Central Committee and the provincial committees, and to let the petty-bourgeois elements roam. Unmasking the Trotskyists, Ya. E. Rudzutak and other delegates to the congress declared that in matters of planning and foreign trade, our party proceeded from the instructions of V.I. Lenin and the decisions of the XII Congress of the RCP (b), and not from the recipes of the opposition. The delegates pointed out that the policy of "trade intervention" (wide import of finished industrial products) proposed by the opposition is a petty-bourgeois, not a proletarian policy. Ya. E. Rudzutak recalled that it was no coincidence that the workers supported the decision of the STO to import cotton and rejected the opposition's proposal to import cotton fabrics. Noting the correctness of the economic policy and the complete bankruptcy of the opposition in economic matters, the congress instructed the Central Committee of the Party to continue to exercise maximum caution in the surrender of concessions and to defend with all decisiveness the monopoly of foreign trade, develop grain exports, and take care of consolidating the active balance of foreign trade.

**Demanding the freedom to form factions and groupings**, the opposition resorted to any methods and means in the struggle against the Leninist line of the Central Committee. Trying to oppose the young party members to the main cadres of the party and its Central Committee, she flirted with the young people, calling them the "surest barometer" of the party. The congress delegates strongly condemned such attempts by the opposition. The delegate to the congress N. P. Chaplin declared that young people who were not hardened in the struggle against opportunism should learn Leninism

from the old fighters of the party, from those who, together with V. I. Lenin, created the party.

The congress gave full approval to the Central Committee of the Party for its firmness and Bolshevik intransigence in the struggle against the opposition in defense of the foundations of Leninism and decided to approve the resolutions of the XIII Party Conference "On Party Building" and "On the Results of the Discussion and the Petty Bourgeois Deviation", attaching these resolutions to the resolutions of the XIII Congress of the RCP (b) as their own solutions. The congress instructed the Central Committee to also protect the party unity and the consistent line of Bolshevism resolutely and boldly from any deviations. "After that," the resolution said, "as the party lost Comrade. Lenin, the matter of ensuring full party unity has become even more important and necessary than until now".

The congress drew attention to the strengthening of the ideological work of the party, the education of young party members, especially the Leninist draft. The resolution of the congress "On agitprop work" indicated that favorable conditions for strengthening the influence of the party among the workers and peasants, created by the general economic upsurge, require a sharp improvement in agitation and propaganda work. The decision of the congress emphasized that this work should be freed from the elements of pedagogy and abstract reasoning, that it should be as concrete as possible, linking it to the demands of life and the needs of the working people. The congress invited all party organizations to widely develop a network of party education: political literacy schools for Lenin's draft, self-education circles and other forms of work to raise the theoretical level of party members and non-party members. Political literacy schools and political self-education circles were seen as the main forms of the initial party education in the city.

To eliminate political illiteracy among party members in the countryside, the congress recommended the use of traveling schools as a form of political education that had already been justified. At the same time, the congress outlined measures to improve the work of communist schools and communist universities, which were intended to train party workers with a higher level of knowledge. Particular

attention was paid to the study of the history and program of the party, questions of party building, party tactics and especially economic policy. The decision of the Congress emphasized that the teaching of these sciences should be permeated with the theory of Marxism-Leninism and maximally linked with life, with the practice and tasks of socialist construction.

The congress heard a report on the manuscripts of K. Marx and F. Engels, and on the work of the Lenin Institute. The Central Committee of the Party was instructed to take measures for the earliest possible publication of the Complete Works of K. Marx and F. Engels in Russian and other languages. In connection with the report on the work of the Lenin Institute, the congress turned to the fraternal communist parties with a request to help collect all documentary materials related to the life and work of V.I. Lenin. The congress pointed out that the first and main task of the Institute is to publish the Complete Works of V. I. Lenin and prepare the Leninist library for the broad masses of workers from selected works of V. I. Lenin in the languages of all the peoples of the USSR.

**At the 13th Party Congress, the delegations were informed of a letter from V.I. Lenin**, written by him at the end of 1922. In this letter, known as the "Testament," V.I. this measure as the most important condition for maintaining the unity of the party and raising the authority of the Central Committee. In the letter of V.I. Lenin, the idea is carried out that only collective leadership meets the nature of the party and guarantees it against serious mistakes. Lenin gave a characterization to some members of the Central Committee, pointing out where the threat of disagreement might arise. He wrote about Trotsky's minorism, about the non-Party behavior of Zinoviev and Kamenev in October 1917, which was not an accident. **VI Lenin noted that Bukharin never fully understood dialectics.** Pyatakov is unreliable in dealing with serious political issues. Lenin gave a detailed description to Stalin. He wrote: "Comrade. Stalin, having become the general secretary, concentrated immense power in his hands, and I am not sure whether he will always be able to use this power with sufficient caution ... Stalin is too rude, and this defect,

which is quite tolerable in the environment and in communication between us communists, becomes intolerant as a general secretary "

The plenum of the Central Committee, which took place on May 21, 1924, then **decided "to postpone the reading of the read out documents, according to the will of Vladimir Ilyich, to the congress,** by announcing the delegations and establishing that these documents cannot be reproduced, and the announcement of the delegations is made by members of the commission for accepting Ilyich's papers.. **The delegations of the congress recognized** it expedient to keep Stalin in the post of general secretary, so that he would take into account Lenin's criticism of him.

The Thirteenth Congress heard greetings from representatives of the Communist International and the fraternal communist parties, who expressed unanimous and ardent approval of the activities of the Central Committee and declared that the experience of the Leninist Party opened up great prospects for their work. In their speeches, they indicated that they fully support the RCP (b) in the struggle for Leninist unity and solidarity, which are a reliable guarantee of a victorious movement towards socialism and a successful repulsion of all enemy attacks. On behalf of the Communist International, VP Kolarov declared to the congress that "in the matter of realizing the unity and cohesion of the party, in the implementation and implementation of the behests of Ilyich, in the preservation of the Bolshevik ideology, the entire Communist International will be on the side of the RCP".

**The congress unanimously condemned the platform of the Trotskyist** opposition, defining it as a petty-bourgeois deviation from Marxism, as a revision of Leninism, and confirmed the resolutions of the Thirteenth Party Conference "On Party Building" and "On the Results of the Discussion." Proceeding from the task of strengthening the bond between town and country, the congress gave instructions on the further expansion of industry, primarily light industry. while emphasizing the need for rapid development of metallurgy the congress approved the creation of the People's Commissariat for Internal Trade and set before all the trading bodies the task of mastering the market and ousting private capital from the field of



trade. The congress set the task of expanding the state's cheap credit to the peasantry and ousting the usurer from the countryside. As the main task of work in the countryside, the congress put forward the slogan of all-round cooperation among the peasant masses. Finally, the congress pointed out the enormous importance of the Leninist appeal and drew the Party's attention to intensifying the work of teaching young party members, above all the Leninist appeal, in the foundations of Leninism. The congress set the task of expanding the state's cheap credit to the peasantry and ousting the usurer from the countryside. As the main task of work in the countryside, the congress put forward the slogan of all-round cooperation among the peasant masses. Finally, the congress pointed out the enormous importance of the Leninist appeal and drew the Party's attention to intensifying the work of teaching young party members, above all the Leninist appeal, in the foundations of Leninism. The congress set the task of expanding the state's cheap credit to the peasantry and ousting the usurer from the countryside. As the main task of work in the countryside, the congress put forward the slogan of all-round cooperation among the peasant masses. Finally, the congress pointed out the enormous importance of the Leninist appeal and drew the Party's attention to intensifying the work of teaching young party members, above all the Leninist appeal, in the foundations of Leninism.

The XIII Congress of the RCP (B) was a significant milestone in the history of our party and the Soviet state. The decisions of the congress were of great importance for rallying the party around the Leninist banner, mobilizing the Soviet people to fight for the successful restoration of the national economy, and creating the necessary conditions for building socialism in the USSR.

Expanded decisions of the Congress on internal trade, on cooperation, on work in the countryside contributed to the strengthening of the alliance of the working class and the peasantry, the further expansion of industry, the cooperation of the broad masses of the working peasantry, the strengthening of the socialist elements in the national economy "

The decisions of the congress on the upbringing of a Leninist appeal, cultural and educational work in the countryside, on work among

female workers and peasants, on young people gave a clear direction to all practical activities of the party in the communist education of the working people and strengthening the party's ties with the masses, developing the activity and consciousness of the working people.

The decisions of the congress on questions of internal party life were of great importance for strengthening the ranks of the party, rallying the working masses around the Leninist party line, which played a decisive role in the struggle against Trotskyism, which sought to lead the party off the Leninist path and undermine the unity and cohesion of the communist movement. The V Congress of the Comintern, held in the summer of 1924, fully approved the decisions of the RCP (b) on Trotskyism, deciding to publish the resolution of the XIII Party Conference and the XIII Congress of the RCP (b) "On the Results of the Discussion and the Petty Bourgeois Deviation in the Party" as a decision of the Congress.

The verbatim record of the XIII Congress for the first time includes: the report of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) for the period from the XII to the XIII Congress of the RCP (b), the proposal of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission on the composition of the Central Control Commission, the regulations of the congress, greetings from the XIII Congress of the RCP (b) of the Bulgarian Communist Party, greetings to the congress from the Communist Party of Germany, the French Communist Party, the English Communist Party, the Japanese Communist Party, the Yakutsk Regional Committee of the RCP (b), the meeting of workers in Novonikolaevsk, the Communist International of Youth, the International Peasant Council, the citywide cooperative conference in Moscow, vacationers of Nskiy Novorossiysk shelf and others. 5 additional names have been added to the list of delegates with an advisory vote. A list of the distribution of decisive and advisory votes, as well as a list of the composition of the congress delegates has been posted. Some corrections and clarifications have been made to the lists of delegates, which are indicated in the footnotes.

Institute of Marxism-Leninism under the Central Committee of the CPSU

РОССИЙСКАЯ КОММУНИСТИЧЕСКАЯ ПАРТИЯ (БОЛЬШЕВИКОВ)

*„Победа или смерть“*

**ЧЕТЫРНАДЦАТАЯ КОНФЕРЕНЦИЯ  
РОССИЙСКОЙ  
КОММУНИСТИЧЕСКОЙ ПАРТИИ  
(БОЛЬШЕВИКОВ)**

ГОСУДАРСТВЕННОЕ ИЗДАТЕЛЬСТВО  
1925

## **Fourteenth Conference of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks), April 27-29, 1925**

The fourteenth conference of the RCP (b) was held in Moscow on April 27-29, 1925. 178 delegates attended with a casting vote and 392 with an advisory vote.

Order of the day: party organizational issues (lecturer VM Molotov); about cooperation (AI Rykov); on agricultural tax (A.D. Tsyurupa); on the metal industry (F.E. Dzerzhinsky); on the enlarged plenum of the ECCI (GE Zinoviev); about revolutionary legality (A.A. Solts).

The main thing in the work of the conference was **the discussion of the issue of the prospects for building socialism in the USSR**. It acquired paramount importance due to the fact that the national economy approached the pre-war level and the tasks of its reconstruction were put forward. **The presence of a capitalist encirclement**, partial stabilization of capitalism and its suppression of the revolutionary movement in a number of countries, the economic backwardness of Russia were used by the supporters of L.D. Trotsky, as well as the leaders of the emerging "new opposition" G.E. Zinoviev and L.B. Kamenev to substantiate the thesis about **the impossibility of building socialism in the USSR on our own**.

The Central Committee rejected Zinoviev's draft theses "On the tasks of the Comintern and the RCP (b) in connection with the enlarged plenum of the ECCI," which argued that the victory of socialism could only be achieved on an international scale. The theses revised by the Central Committee substantiated Lenin's thesis on the possibility of the victory of socialism in the USSR in conditions of a slowdown in the development of the world revolution. The conference unanimously approved the theses of the Central Committee (Zinoviev and Kamenev did not express their views at the conference) and pointed out that the Soviet country has everything it needs to build a socialist society, that the working class, in alliance with the working peasantry, can defeat capitalism within the country, not only politically, but, and economically. Since the danger of intervention and the restoration of capitalism in the USSR remained under the conditions of capitalist encirclement, the resolution emphasized that

the final victory of socialism in the sense of a complete guarantee against the restoration of bourgeois relations is possible only as a result of the victory of proletarian revolutions in a number of countries.

At the conference, the next tasks **of economic construction were discussed** and it was proposed to accelerate the development of the metal industry, draw up a long-term plan for 3 years, start the construction of new metallurgical plants, expand the production of non-ferrous metals, pay more attention to increasing labor productivity and improving product quality. The conference pointed out the need for the greatest possible coverage of all processes of the economic life of the countryside by cooperation. In order to strengthen the influence of the poor and middle peasants in cooperation, it was recommended not to allow kulak elements in the governing of societies. **The conference rejected as a politically incorrect thesis of N.I. Bukharin**, that for the peasantry, collective farms are not a pillar road to socialism, and called for more attention to their creation and strengthening.

The resolution "On Party Building" set out the task of improving Party leadership in all branches of the national economy, especially in the countryside; it was decided to send at least 1 thousand communists to the district and volost committees of the RCP (b), and at least 3 thousand propagandists to raise the level of ideological and educational work in the countryside. In the decision, special attention was paid to the need to ensure correct leadership of the peasantry by the proletariat, to the strengthening of the alliance with the middle peasantry in order to involve it in the construction of socialism.

In order to strengthen the leadership of the mass organizations of working people, it was proposed to strengthen the communist factions in the Soviets, trade unions, and cooperative bodies, and to increase the party nucleus in the Komsomol. The conference called for the strictest observance of socialist legality, for intensifying the fight against bureaucracy and violations of state discipline.

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ПРОЛЕТАРИИ ВСЕХ СТРАН,  
СОЕДИНЯЙТЕСЬ!

# XII ВСЕРОССИЙСКИЙ СЪЕЗД СОВЕТОВ

БЮЛЛЕТЕНЬ

I-7

ИЗДАНИЕ ВЦИК  
МОСКВА 1925 КРЕМЛЬ

## **Twelfth All-Russian Congress of Soviet. May 7-16, 1925**

Verbatim report of the All-Russian XII Congress of Soviets, held on May 7-16, 1925 in Moscow. A new Constitution of the RSFSR was adopted at the congress.

According to the credentials committee of the congress: There were 1,084 voting delegates and 550 deliberative delegates. The party composition of the delegates: members and candidate members of the CPSU (b) - 79.1%, non-party members - 20.9%.

Social composition of delegates: workers 39.2%, peasants 31.2%, other 29.6%

National composition: Great Russians 71.6%, Ukrainians 3.2%, Belarusians 0.9%, Caucasian peoples 2.5%, Turkic peoples 7.2%, Jews 5.0%, Latvians, and Estonians 2.9%, other 6.7%

M.I. Kalinin was elected chairman of the congress.

Issues considered;

Report of the People's Commissariat of Health (Semashko)

Report of the People's Commissariat of Finance (Milyutin)

Report of the People's Commissariat of Agriculture (Svidersky)

Report on amendments to the Constitution of the RSFSR in 1918 (Kurski)

Report on the secession of the Turkestan Autonomous Republic from the RSFSR and the formation of the Turkmen and Uzbek union republics (Kiselev)

Election of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee

The congress approved the text of the 1925 Constitution of the RSFSR.

The congress elected a new composition of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee in the amount of 300 members and 134 candidates.

*Проглашения всех стенографических бюро*

**XIV СЪЕЗД  
ВСЕСОЮЗНОЙ  
КОММУНИСТИЧЕСКОЙ  
ПАРТИИ (Б)**

—  
**СТЕНОГРАФИЧЕСКИЙ ОТЧЕТ**  
—



**ГОСУДАРСТВЕННОЕ ИЗДАТЕЛЬСТВО  
1926**



**Fourteenth Congress of the All-Union Communist Party (b).  
December 18 - 31, 1925**

December 1925. Verbatim report. - M.-L.: Gosizdat, 1926.

The Fourteenth Congress of the CPSU (b) was held in Moscow from December 18 to December 31, 1925. 1306 delegates took part in the work of the Congress

Rykov's opening speech

Comrades, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party, I welcome the XIV Congress of our Party. (Applause.)

During the time between the 13th and 14th Congresses, our Party has lost many old, staunch fighters who are most devoted to the interests of the Party and the working class. A member of the Central Committee, Comrade Frunze, has died; candidates for membership in the Central Committee, Comrade Frunze, have died. Myasnikov and Nariman-Narimanov, tragically died comrades. Sklyansky and Mogilevsky, a number of other responsible workers and the oldest members of our party went to the grave. I propose at the 14th congress to honor their memory by standing up. (The Congress rises.)

Comrades, the previous XIII Congress took place a year and a half ago. In such a revolutionary era in which we live, a year and a half is a very long time. It would be the greatest mistake to think that, in contrast to the period of the civil war, the direct struggle for power, the past year and a half was a period of calm. It is enough to enumerate the main moments of the struggle of the Party and the working class over the past year and a half to understand the whole fallacy of such a view. None of us can doubt that the struggle waged by the proletariat and the party during this period of time on the economic and cultural fronts plays no less a role in relation to the fate of the communist movement than [the accompanying struggle on military fronts ...

Over the past year and a half, the entire economic situation in the country has changed significantly.

In a number of branches of the economy, we have already reached or are reaching the pre-war level; for the first time major successes were made in the field of cooperative building. For the first time, the working class embarked on a new construction project on an economic scale.

The past year and a half can be defined as a period of rapid recovery [of the economy] of the USSR.

[In international politics, the position of the USSR ...] by the XIV Congress of the Party was recognized by all the largest states of the world, with the exception of America. For the first time, the role of the USSR began to be felt in the system of the world economy. Over the past year and a half, the sympathy of the workers of Western Europe for our Union, for our party, as the builder of a socialist society, has grown and strengthened. Even those strata of the Western European proletariat who doubted the success of our construction and the expediency of the October Revolution, upon direct acquaintance with the life of our Union, by sending special delegations, change their prejudice to ardent sympathy for our Union.

For the countries of the East and for all oppressed peoples, the USSR has become, to a greater extent than before, a symbol of the liberation movement.

These are, in the most general terms, our achievements over the past year and a half.

The general restoration process of our economy could not but contribute to an extraordinary increase in the political life of the entire country, the growth of the activity of all classes, groups, strata, and strata of the population. The masses of the people, freeing themselves from poverty and devastation - this difficult legacy of the civil war - are beginning to take an ever more direct and wider participation in the building of a new society.

But the economic revival of the country, strengthening the political and economic role of the working class, at the same time determined the growth of the activity of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois strata of the population of our Union. In connection with the increase in the

activity of the population and the economic revival of the country, both the administration of the state and the work of the party leadership have become extremely complicated. The main thing that makes it possible for the party to cope with new tasks in these incomparably more difficult conditions is the growth of the working class on the basis of the development of industry, its cohesion, organization, and activity. This determines the firmness of the proletarian dictatorship and the ability for the party to lead the life of the country with sufficient success in new, difficult conditions. It was in such a situation that the activities of the Central Committee elected by the XIII Congress proceeded.

In assessing the work of the Party and its Central Committee, one should neither overestimate the successes achieved and in no case underestimate the difficulties that have stood, are, and will still arise before the Party and its governing bodies. This difficulty was expressed at least in the fact that in the absence of sufficient experience and skill in the field of planned leadership, the absence of some elements necessary for planned maneuvering (for example, reserves), shortly before the congress we had to revise a number of economic plans drawn up in the fall. I'm talking about revising our grain procurement export-import plans, as well as the plan for the development of industry. Those miscalculations and blunders that were made during the elapsed time are by no means [...] a recovery process [...] to step as far as we wanted and how we thought to do it this fall. The pace of development will be slightly slower. But in general, it will be large enough even with the revealed difficulties in order "to significantly strengthen the role of the working class and the role of socialist elements in the entire system of our economy.

We must neither underestimate the difficulties facing the Party, nor overestimate the achievements made over the past time. Self-criticism, a clear awareness of all the difficulties, shortcomings and mistakes in our work are an indispensable precondition for the successful activity of the Party and the working class in the future.

The Central Committee submitted its main decisions on the peasant question, which has been the most urgent over the past time, for discussion at the KIV party conference. And its decisions, as well as

the resolutions of the Yaborsk plenum of the Central Committee, were the main directive for the work of the party.

The XIV Congress of our Party, which is opening today, should take stock of everything that has been done in the past period. He must give an impartial assessment of the activities of the central bodies elected at the last congress, guidelines for further work, and determine the nearest paths of socialist construction.

We have entered a new era - the era of construction. This era raises a number of new questions, which, of course, cannot be resolved without discussion, without controversy. In the interval between the XIII and XIV Congresses, our Party resumed discussion with Trotskyism. In this discussion, the Party revealed the exceptional maturity and solidarity of its ranks.

At this congress, another group of questions is to be discussed, connected with the economic growth of the country's impudent, with the increased activity of all classes and strata of the population, with the building of socialism, with work in the countryside, etc. It seems to me that I will not be mistaken if I say that and in resolving these questions the Party will display the same self-control and the same solidarity as during the period of the above-mentioned discussion.

The past year and a half have been a test for all of us, for the entire party as a whole, how it copes with major tasks and issues in an increasingly complicated situation without Vladimir Ilyich. These one and a half years were an exam for the system of collective leadership of the Party, which was established by the Thirteenth Congress.

If we look back at what we have experienced, then we all recognize that the party that was founded by Vladimir Ilyich, which he led for many decades, turned out to be worthy of its teacher. She showed full maturity and did not follow events, but ahead of them.

Comrades, Party congresses have always been a completely exceptional event not only in the life of the Party itself, but also in the life of the working class and this country. Vladimir Ilyich always prepared with particular care for the party congresses and regarded them as events of decisive importance. After the death of Vladimir

Ilyich, the party congresses also played a decisive role in new questions: in the interpretation of Leninism, in the application of the teachings of Comrade Lenin to the new living conditions of the working class and the life of the country. And in this respect the Congress is the ultimate authority. (Stormy applause.)

Comrades, the entire working class, and the entire country will follow with the greatest strain the work of the present XIV Congress of the Russian Communist Party. I think that I will express the feelings and thoughts of all the members of the Party and the entire working class if I say that the Fourteenth Congress will justify the hopes that the workers of our Union and the whole world are placing on it.

I declare the Fourteenth Congress of our Party open. (Applause.)

Comrade Ryutin has the floor for a proposal on the composition of the Presidium.

Ryutin. Comrades, the composition of the presidium, both personal and quantitative, has been coordinated with the senior convention and with all delegations. The Senior-Convention proposes a quantitative composition of the presidium of 47 people.

Rykov (presiding). Any other suggestions? Not. Who is in favor of the proposal, please raise your hands? Who is against? Who is abstaining? Adopted unanimously.

Ryutin. **The composition of the Presidium is proposed as follows:**

Comrades. Stalin, Rykov, Bukharin, Tomsy, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Trotsky, Molotov, Kalinin, Rudzutak, Dzerzhinsky, Sokolnikov, Voroshilov, Andreev, Bubnov, Dogadov, Kuibyshev, Yaroslavsky, Shkiryatov, Krupskaya, Petrovsky, Kaganovich, Chimovarov, Uglanov, Mikhailov, Antipov, Sulimov, Kosior St., Kubyak, Mikoyan, Ordzhonikidze, Kirov, Zelensky, Ikramov, Goloshchekin, Chaplin, Chudov, Kolotilov, Kabakov, Zhdanov, Krinitskii, Nikolaeva, A.P. Smirnov, Manuilkhky and Lashevich ...

Topics: **International Situation** - Imperialism, colonies and semi-colonies, winners and loser, contradictions between the winning countries, Capitalist World and the Soviet Union, External situation of USSR, The task of the Party.

**Internal Situation of the Soviet Union** – National Economy as a whole, Industry and agriculture, Trade issues, Classes, their activity, their ratio, Three Slogans of Lenin on the peasant question, Two dangers and two deviations on the peasant question, The tasks of the party. In the field of development of the national economy as a whole, we must work:

- a) along the line of further increasing the production of harvest ^
- b) along the line of transforming our country from agrarian into industrial;
- c) in the direction of ensuring in the national economy a decisive preponderance of the socialist elements over the capitalist elements;
- d) in the direction of ensuring the national economy of the Soviet Union the necessary independence in a capitalist environment;
- e) in the direction of increasing the share of non-tax revenues in the general system of the state budget.

In the field of industry and agriculture, work:

- a) along the line of developing our socialist industry on the basis of a higher technical level, raising labor productivity, lowering production costs, and increasing the rate of capital turnover;
- b) along the line of bringing balances of fuel, metal, as well as fixed capital railway. transport in accordance with the growing needs of industry and the country;
- c) along the line of intensified development of the Soviet industry of local importance;
- d) along the line of raising the yield of land, raising the technical level of agriculture, developing industrial crops, industrializing agriculture;
- e) along the line of including scattered peasant farms in socialist construction through mass cooperation and raising the cultural level of the peasantry.

In the field of trade, conduct work:

- a) along the line of further expansion and qualitative improvement of the commodity distribution network (cooperation of all types, state trade);
- b) along the line of maximizing the speed of goods turnover;
- c) in the direction of lowering retail prices and further increasing the preponderance of Soviet-cooperative trade over private trade;
- d) along the line of establishing a united front and strict procurement discipline among all procurement bodies;
- e) along the line of increasing trade with the outside world, ensuring an active trade balance, and hence an active balance of payments, which is a necessary condition for maintaining a hard currency and a necessary guarantee against inflation.

In the area of the ratio of classes to work:

- a) along the line of ensuring the alliance of the proletariat and the rural poor with the middle peasantry;
- b) in the direction of ensuring the leadership of the proletariat in this alliance;
- c) along the line of political isolation and economic pushing back of the kulak and the urban capitalist.

In the field of Soviet construction, to work along the line of a resolute struggle against bureaucracy, on the line of drawing the broad masses of the working class into this struggle.

Molotov. Comrades, the most important and most characteristic of the organizational work in our Party over the past period should be considered the growth of the activity of the workers and peasants and, in connection with this, the revitalization of mass organizations. We, the Party of Communists, have set and are setting the task of pouring this growing political activity of the workers and peasants of the working masses into our Soviet channel and directing this activity for the benefit of the proletarian revolution, for the benefit of building socialism. This means that the party, as the vanguard of the working class, at the head of the working class, must at the present time

concentrate exceptionally great attention on the tasks of the communist education of both the broad non-party masses of the workers and the poor, farm laborers, and also the middle peasants in the countryside. The task of revitalizing the mass organizations is precisely the task of gradually re-educating the masses in the interests of socialist construction in modern conditions.

With the revival of the mass organizations of the working class in the city, the organizations of the working people in the countryside also revive. At the same time, both in the city and especially in the countryside, socially alien and hostile layers are reviving. In relation to these strata, the party and the working class have only one means - to overcome their resistance and, regardless of the obstacles and difficulties that stand in the way of our party in connection with the influence that these strata still have on the masses, to lead the masses to socialist construction., to the implementation of the work on which the Party, the Soviet government and all proletarian organizations are working.

The party understood the importance of the slogan of revitalizing mass organizations more than a year ago and set this task as a task that should be in the center of attention of the party and the working class in all organizational work. The October plenum of last year, which issued a directive to revitalize the Soviets, gave precisely that course, the line that determined a new moment in the development of the Soviet Union, a new era in the development of the proletarian revolution and the building of socialism, a new stage in the development of the party itself.

It is important for us that the tasks that the Party outlined more than a year ago, we really can accomplish in the way that communists, Bolshevik-Leninists, leaders of the proletarian revolution should do. For this, our Party must march invariably at the head of the working masses. For this it must always be the true vanguard of the working people. To do this, it must not lag behind in activity, but go ahead in its activity, initiative, in its participation in all practical socialist construction, which is currently unfolding. It follows from this that the party has emphasized at the present time as the most important matter in all its organizational work, namely, the development of



intra-party democracy, the development of the activity of the masses in the party itself, the development of collectivity in the entire work of the party, the increase in the activity and participation of workers within the party and in all governing bodies, the party.

The party put forward as the main line in organizational work - the deployment of internal party democracy. This follows from the course towards the deployment of mass organizations, it follows from the tasks of our construction, as they now confront us.

These, in a nutshell, are the general conditions and the general political situation in which our party is currently operating.

I pass on to the main branches of the practical work of our Party.

I will divide my report into four main parts: the first part - the party and the leadership of the working class; the second part - the party and the leadership of the peasantry; the third - the party and the leadership of the state apparatus and the fourth - the party and the tasks of the internal party leadership,

As you can see, comrades, all these four parts of the report speak of the leadership of the Party, the tasks of the Party in the field of leading the masses, the tasks in exercising communist leadership in all the work of our Soviet construction and in all the activity of the working people.

Now I will turn to the first part of the report.

#### 1. Party and leadership of the working class.

What questions should the Party raise in connection with the tasks of leading the working class, and what do we have now in this respect? It seems to me that there are the following three main points and three tasks to which we should pay attention:

- 1) the growth of mass proletarian organizations and the revitalization of their work;
- 2) strengthening the influence of the party in them;

3) the growth of non-party proletarian activists around the party. It is at these three points that we must stop for

in order to find out what are the successes of the party leadership in relation to the working class. In doing so, it would be most correct to devote the main attention to the tasks of leading the Party of the working class through the trade unions. On this example, on the example of trade unions, now it is necessary to dwell especially.

(...)

## 2. Party and leadership of the peasantry.

I pass on to the second part of my report. Here I will speak on the question of the party and the leadership of the peasantry.

In relation to the peasantry at the present time the party has basically the same three organizational tasks as in relation to the working class. These tasks can be briefly characterized as follows: on the one hand, the party is faced with the task of developing mass work and reviving the corresponding mass organizations in the countryside, while exercising correct political leadership over them; on the other hand, the task is to strengthen the influence of the party in these organizations, which, in essence, is the implementation of genuine proletarian leadership in the countryside, and, finally, it is necessary to create in the countryside a broad non-party peasant active around the party, which alone can provide in modern conditions the real influence and leadership of the party by the broad peasant masses.

(...)

## RESOLUTIONS AND DECISIONS OF THE XIV CONGRESS OF THE CPSU (b).

About the place of work of the XIV Congress.

To change the decision of the XIII Congress - to conduct the work of the XIV Congress in Moscow.

According to the report of the Central Committee.

The Fourteenth Congress of the CPSU (B.) **fully approves the political and organizational line of the Central Committee**, which provided the party, the working class, and the whole country with a general rise in the national economy and strengthened the position of socialism both outside and inside the country.

Thanks to this policy in the international sphere, the Soviet Union received a number of new recognitions from the capitalist states, concluded a number of new trade agreements and concessions with them, increased its external trade and strengthened its international position.

Thanks to the same internal policy, the Soviet Union was able to secure a solid state budget, to move forward quickly, with a general rise in wages and labor productivity, the development of industry and the further development of agriculture, bringing their products to almost pre-war levels and ensuring the growing role of socialist elements throughout the national economy.

Thanks to the same policy, the Soviet government strengthened the alliance of the working class with the peasantry and ensured proletarian leadership in it, raised the actual role and importance of the cooperatives, rallied large sections of the technical and other intelligentsia on the basis of socialist construction? under the leadership of the proletariat, strengthened the cooperation of the peoples of the Soviet Union and, with the successful implementation of regionalization, - began to lay the material and economic basis for the region, autonomous and union republics.

While noting these successes, the Congress at the same time notes mistakes in the procurement of grain and foreign trade, which threatened our hard currency, this necessary condition for our economic development, and led to the passivity of the trade balance. Approving the decisions of the Central Committee of the Party adopted at the beginning of November of this year and correcting these mistakes, the Congress instructs the Central Committee to strengthen its leadership of the work of the economic people's commissariats and to watch vigilantly that such mistakes do not occur in the future.

In the new reporting year, the party begins its work in new conditions, both external and internal.

**In the field of international relations**, there is evidence of the consolidation and expansion of the "respite" that turned into a whole period of the so-called peaceful cohabitation of the USSR with the capitalist states, despite the fact that the contradictions between these two camps are not weakening, but growing. This provides both the possibility of internal construction and - thanks primarily to economic relations with foreign countries - certain benefits for the acceleration of this construction in the USSR. On the other hand, the growing ties of our economy with world capitalism increase our dependence on this latter, which entails a whole series of new dangers and which the Party cannot but take into account in its work on socialist construction and ensuring the necessary economic independence for our country.

Within the capitalist countries it is necessary to note the partial stabilization of capitalism and the relative strengthening of the political power of the bourgeoisie in Europe; the unprecedentedly increased role of S.-A. Conn. States bordering on their global financial hegemony; the gradual decline in the role of the British Empire as a world power; I expect contradictions between the defeated and the victors in the imperialist war, contradictions in the camp of the victors themselves, contradictions between the United States of America and Europe; the undermining of the entire system of imperialism by the awakening colonial and semi-colonial peoples (China, India, Syria, Morocco), whose movement, taking the form of national liberation wars in some places, reached enormous, previously unseen dimensions; finally, the growth - in new forms - of the labor movement in Europe and its close connection with the proletariat of the USSR (the struggle for the unity of the trade union movement, workers' delegations in the USSR, etc.)

Relative stabilization and the so-called "pacification" of Europe under the hegemony of Anglo-American capital led to a whole system of economic and political blocs, the last of which is the Locarno conference and the so-called "guarantee treaties" directed against the USSR. These blocs and treaties, covered by the allegedly pacifist League of Nations and the false hype of the Second International

about disarmament, mean, in essence, nothing more than the alignment of forces for a new war. Against these blocs of capitalist states under the hegemony of Anglo-Ameriki, accompanied by a frenzied increase in armaments and therefore fraught with the danger of new wars, including the danger of intervention, the proletariat of the advanced countries is growing closer to the proletariat of the USSR under the slogan, above all, of the struggle for peace, the struggle against new imperialist wars and armed attacks on the USSR.

Considering these circumstances, the Congress instructs the Central Committee to be guided in its policy by the following basic provisions:

- a) to strengthen in every possible **way the alliance of the proletariat of the USSR**, as the basis of the world revolution, with the Western European proletariat and the oppressed peoples, keeping a course towards the development and victory of the international proletarian revolution;
- b) **pursue a policy of peace**, which should be at the center of the entire foreign policy of the government and determine all of its main statements;
- c) **to conduct economic construction** from such an angle of view so that the USSR from a country importing machinery and equipment can be transformed into a country producing machinery and equipment, so that in this way the USSR in a capitalist encirclement cannot turn into an economic appendage of the capitalist world economy, but represents as an independent economic unit, built in a socialist way and capable, thanks to its economic growth, to serve as a powerful means of revolutionizing the workers of all countries and the oppressed peoples of the colonies and semi-colonies;
- d) prepare, as far as possible, **economic reserves that can provide the country** from all and all accidents both in the domestic and foreign markets;
- e) take all measures **to strengthen the country's defense** and strengthen the might of the Red Army and the Red Navy, sea, and air.

In the field of economic construction, the Congress proceeds from the assumption that our country, the country of the dictatorship of the proletariat, has "everything necessary for building a complete socialist society" (Lenin) The Congress considers that the struggle for the victory of socialist construction in the USSR is the main task of our party ... The reporting year has fully proved the correctness of these provisions. Before the seizure of power in other countries by the proletariat, but with its undoubted support, without the so-called "help" from foreign capital and in the continuous struggle with private capital in our country, the working class, in alliance with the bulk of the peasantry, had already achieved its first serious successes in socialist construction.

The past year was marked by the rapid growth of the national economy as a whole, with it approaching the pre-war level and the growth of its individual branches: industry, agriculture, transport, foreign trade, domestic trade, credit system and banks, public finance, etc. With all the diversity of its constituent parts (natural peasant economy, small-scale commodity production, private capitalism, state capitalism and socialism), the proportion of socialist industry, state and cooperative trade, nationalized credit and other commanding heights of the proletarian state is sharply increasing.

Thus, there is an economic offensive of the proletariat on the basis of the New Economic Policy and the advancement of the USSR economy towards socialism. State socialist industry is increasingly becoming the vanguard of the national economy, leading the national economy as a whole.

The Congress notes that these successes could not have been achieved without the active participation of the broad masses of the workers in the general work of building socialist industry (campaigns to raise labor productivity, production conferences, etc.).

At the same time, however, the special contradictions of this growth and the specific dangers and difficulties determined by this growth are developing. These include: the absolute growth of private capital and the relative decline of its role, especially private trading capital, which diverts operations to service the Village; the growth of kulak

farms in the countryside, together with the growth of differentiation of this latter; the growth of the new bourgeoisie in the cities, striving to merge economically with the commercial capitalist and kulak farms in their struggle to subjugate the bulk of the middle peasant farms.

On this basis, the Congress instructs the Central Committee to be guided in the field of economic policy by the following directives:

a) prioritize the task of ensuring the victory of socialist economic forms over private capital in every possible way, strengthening the monopoly of foreign trade, the growth of socialist state-owned industry and the involvement, under its leadership and with the help of cooperation, of an ever increasing number of peasant farms in the channel of socialist construction;

b) to ensure economic independence for the USSR, protecting the USSR from turning it into an appendage of the capitalist world economy, for which purpose it is to pursue a course towards the industrialization of the country, the development of production of means of production and the formation of reserves for economic maneuvering;

c) based on the decisions of the XIV Party Conference, to promote in every possible way the growth of production and trade in the country;

d) use all resources, observe the strictest economy in spending public funds, increase the turnover rate of state industry, trade, and cooperation to increase the rate of socialist accumulation;

e) to develop our socialist industry at an advanced technical level, however, in strict accordance with both the capacity of the market and the financial capabilities of the state;

f) to assist in every possible way the development of Soviet local industry (district, okrug, province, oblast, republic), in every possible way stimulating local initiative in organizing this industry, calculated to meet the diverse needs of the population in general, and the peasantry in particular;

g) support and push forward the development of agriculture in the direction of improving agricultural culture, developing industrial

crops, improving farming techniques (tractorization), industrializing agriculture, streamlining land management, and providing all-round support for various forms of collectivization of agriculture.

The Congress considers that one of the necessary conditions for the solution of these tasks is the **struggle against disbelief in the building of socialism in our country** and with attempts to view our enterprises, which are enterprises of the "consistently socialist type" (Lenin), as state capitalist enterprises. **Such ideological currents, making it impossible** for the conscious attitude of the masses to the construction of socialism in general and socialist industry in particular, can only slow down the growth of the socialist elements of the economy and facilitate the struggle against them on the part of private capital. The Congress therefore considers it necessary to carry out extensive educational work to overcome these distortions of Leninism.

In the field of relations between classes, the congress notes the following main phenomena, which are basically determined by the economic development of the USSR: the growth of the industrial proletariat, the strengthening of the kulaks in the countryside, the growth of the new bourgeoisie in the city, the rise in the activity of all classes and groups in our country. One of the main forms of the class struggle at the present time is the struggle between the capitalist and socialist elements of the economy, the struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat for the mastery of the bulk of the peasantry. This struggle also finds its political expression, mainly in the attempts of the kulak elements in the countryside to take possession of the middle peasant strata and thus subordinate the Soviets to their influence.

If the poor and, above all, the farm laborers are the mainstay of the proletariat in the countryside, then the middle peasant is and must be its strong union. It should not be forgotten for a single moment that as a result of the abolition of landlord ownership and the transfer of landlord lands into the hands of the peasantry, as a result of the Kombedi policy and dispossession of kulaks in the countryside, and finally, in view of the withdrawal of land from commodity circulation (nationalization of land), the middle peasant strata of the peasantry



have become extremely strong and that these strata constitute the present, despite the process of differentiation, the bulk of the peasantry. Without this mass as a solid ally or confining itself to only neutralizing these strata, now, after the consolidation of the proletarian dictatorship, it is impossible to build socialism. For the main way of building socialism in the countryside is that, with increasing economic leadership from the socialist state industry, state credit institutions and other commanding heights in the hands of the proletariat, involve the bulk of the peasantry in the cooperative organization and ensure socialist development for this organization, using, overcoming, and displacing its capitalist elements. Therefore, any underestimation of the middle peasant, misunderstanding of his exceptionally important role, an attempt to turn the party from the slogan of a lasting alliance with him to the outdated slogan of neutralizing it, "fear of the middle peasant" objectively leads to the undermining of the proletarian dictatorship, for thereby breaking the workers 'and peasants' bloc.

The struggle against the kulaks must proceed both by organizing the poor peasants against the kulaks, and by strengthening the alliance of the proletariat and the poor peasants with the middle peasants with the aim of separating the middle peasants from the kulaks in order to isolate the kulaks.

The lack of understanding of the full importance of the struggle along both of these lines is due to two deviations from the correct party line outlined by the XIV Party Conference and the October Plenum of the Central Committee.

The Congress decisively condemns the deviation which consists in underestimating the differentiation in the countryside; it does not see the dangers associated with the growth of the kulaks and various forms of capitalist exploitation, does not want to understand the whole need to repulse the kulaks and limit its exploiting aspirations, which does not see the obligation for the party of the proletariat to organize and unite the poor and farming against the kulak and in the fight against it.

But at the same time, **the congress condemns with the same decisiveness the attempts to obscure the fundamental question of communist policy in the countryside**, the question of fighting for the middle peasant as the central figure in agriculture, and of cooperation as the main organizational form of the movement of the countryside towards socialism.

The Congress especially stresses the need to combat this last deviation. While the party is relatively more prepared for direct struggle against the kulaks and for overcoming the first deviation, overcoming the second deviation is a much more difficult task, for overcoming it requires more complex methods of struggle to combine methods of political isolation of the kulaks with methods of drawing the bulk of the peasantry into the channel of socialist construction. Moreover, in the present conditions this second deviation threatens to return to the policy of dispossession, to disrupt the present line of the party in the countryside, a line that has already ensured serious political successes, to break the bond between the proletariat and the peasantry and, consequently, to disrupt all our construction work.

The congress fully approves the decisions of the XIV Party Conference on the peasant question (including on expanding lease rights and the right to hire labor, on helping handicraft industry, on the transition from a system of administrative pressure to economic competition and economic struggle, on revitalizing the Soviets and so on), aimed at further improving the party's policy in the direction of strengthening the bond between the working class and the peasantry. The congress notes that only this turn in party policy, resulting from the changed relations between classes, radically improved the situation in the countryside, raised the prestige of the proletariat and its party among the peasantry, and created a solid basis for broad organizational work to involve the peasantry in socialist construction.

At the same time, the congress fully and completely approves the decisions of the October plenum of the Central Committee on work among the rural poor. Only to the extent that the rise of the rural forces of the countryside is accompanied - in the current conditions of increased activity of all class groupings - by the organization of low-powered peasants and farm laborers, will the proper balance of class

forces and the leadership of the industrial proletariat be ensured. Approving the decisions of the Central Committee on material assistance to the poor and on organizing groups of the poor, the congress stresses that there can be no question of either a return to *Kombeds*, or a return to the system of pressure from the period of war communism, the practice of "dispossession", etc. We are talking about the organization of the rural poor, which with the help of the party and state power in the struggle on the economic and political front (collective farms, *artels*, associations, cooperatives, cross committees, *soviets*) must get rid of the remnants of dependent psychology, take the path of organized class resistance to the kulak and to become a reliable pillar of proletarian politics in its struggle to rally the middle peasants around the proletariat. (*Kombed; Committees of Poor Peasants, S.M*)

The increased activity of the masses, along with the increased activity of all class groups and strata, itself - on the basis of economic growth - became a factor of paramount political importance. The proletariat and its party, as the main leading social force, must use this *JJOJCĬ A* to further involve the masses in the process of socialist construction on all fronts of this construction and "to combat the bureaucracy of the state apparatus. In the cities, the growth in the activity of the masses found expression in the revitalization of city councils, trade unions, workers' cooperatives, etc. In the countryside, the increased activity of the middle and poor masses found expression in the revitalization of the *soviets* and cooperatives. The Congress once again emphasizes that under present conditions it is impossible to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat by the methods of war communism and administrative pressure; that it is impossible to build cooperation outside of its volunteerism, accountability of elected bodies to the voters, trust in these bodies on the part of shareholders; that the revitalization of the *Soviets*, the growth of their ties with broad circles of the working population is a necessary prerequisite for all further work of the Party and the Soviet government.

The revitalization of village councils and co-operatives, which unleashes initiative and activity among the peasantry, presupposes - from the point of view of preserving - and strengthening the

proletarian leadership - revitalization and cohesion, an increase in activity and strengthening of the organizations of the proletariat. Only under this condition can the proletarian dictatorship be consolidated and a political line, correct from the point of view of socialism, ensured. Hence, first of all, the slogan of the revitalization of the trade unions - this mass movement of the Germanization, which seeks to encompass the entire proletariat without exception. Trade union democracy should be the method that facilitates the participation of the masses in their common work, expands the possibility of recruiting new nominees, renews the leadership of the trade union organizations and helps class cohesion and raising the class identity of the proletarian masses.

In order to properly carry out all this work to revive the mass organizations of the proletariat and peasantry, it is necessary that the leading force of these organizations, that is, The CPSU, in all its constituent parts, took the path of consistent internal party democracy. The congress approves the November appeal of the Central Committee plenum on internal party democracy and invites the party organizations to keep in mind the following tasks in this area: a) raising the activity of the broad party masses in discussing and resolving the most important questions of party policy; b) the consistent implementation of the election of leading Party bodies with the advancement of new forces for leadership work, the expansion of the Party activists and the formation of new Party cadres to help the old; c) improving the qualifications of the party activists, in particular raising their theoretical level; d) the dissemination of the foundations of Lenin's teaching in the widest circles of the party.

The strengthening of the party and the strengthening of its leading role in all spheres of our construction work, which is more necessary than ever before in the present difficult situation, also presupposes correct regulation of the composition of the Party. The congress considers it necessary to pursue a policy in this area aimed at raising the quality of the composition of party organizations, for the ever greater involvement of workers in the party and for a constant increase in the proportion of the proletarian party nucleus. At the same time, while reaffirming the need for strict implementation of the

established measures of restriction in relation to the admission of non-proletarian elements to the Party, the Congress rejects a policy leading to an excessive swelling of the Party ranks and filling them with semi-proletarian elements that have not passed the schools of trade unions and proletarian organizations in general. Sezd condemns such attempts as attempts that have nothing to do with Leninism, deny the correct relationship between the party (the vanguard of the class) and the class and make communist leadership impossible.

The leading role of the party can be fully ensured only with absolute unity of will, the unity of the party ranks, and the preservation and strengthening of the Bolshevik proletarian discipline in the party.

The congress approves the Central Committee's policy, which was aimed at preventing open discussion with some leaders of the Leningrad organization and their individual associates from the Central Committee, trying to overcome differences in an internal order and to ensure the collective leadership of the party.

The Congress instructs the Central Committee to wage a decisive struggle against all attempts to undermine the unity of the Party, no matter where they come from and whoever they are headed by. The Congress expresses its firm conviction that the Leningrad organization will stand in the forefront of fighters for the solidarity and unity of our Leninist party, a unity that must be preserved and strengthened at all costs.

The congress welcomes the strengthening of ties between the proletariat of the Soviet Union and the proletariat of all countries. The Congress sees in this the growth of the influence of the Soviet Union as the basis of the international labor movement. The congress proposes that the Central Committee continue to strengthen in every possible way the bonds of international solidarity, under the sign of which the dictatorship of the proletariat was born, fought for its dominance, and strengthened.

According to the report of the Central Control Commission.

The XIV Congress of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks fully approves the activities of the Central Control Commission and

approves the proposals made by it on the work of the Central Control Commission and the RCI.

The congress states that as a result of the work of the Central Control Commission and the RCI, a number of improvements will be achieved in our state apparatus.

The Congress especially approves of the work of the Central Control Commission in combating the contamination of the Party by alien and decaying elements, in particular, the Congress recognizes the correctness of the check of unproductive cells carried out by the Central Control Commission.

The Congress approves the position taken by the Central Control Commission on the question of preserving the unity of the Party and supporting the Leninist line of the Central Committee.

The Congress instructs the new composition of the Central Control Commission to fight even more resolutely against ideological vacillations and attempts to violate the Party's united will and discipline and to take all measures to ensure the consistent and unswerving implementation of the decisions adopted by the Fourteenth Congress.

On the work of the Central Control Commission and RCI.

Communication with the masses and intra-party democracy.

I. From the whole construction of the plan comrade. Lenin's reorganization of the Central Control Commission and the RKI clearly follows the need to involve broad masses of workers and peasants in the work to improve the state apparatus. Without attracting the attention of these masses to their work, without involving them in improving the state apparatus, without recruiting people from these masses to replace the old incorrigible bureaucracy, there can be no talk of great achievements in the work of the Central Control Commission and the RKI.

The enormous growth in the political activity of the working class and the strata of the peasantry close to it, which has recently manifested itself, creates a favorable environment for the involvement of these

masses in state building. The main mass organizations with which close ties must at all costs be established by the Central Control Commission and its bodies are trade unions, industrial conferences and economic commissions in Soviet institutions, delegate meetings of women workers, youth organizations, council sections, etc. Public initiative should be deployed much wider. The Central Control Commission and its organs should not only encourage the creation of all kinds of free societies and circles among workers and peasants (for example, circles and societies of technical education, agronomy, inventions, radio, "friends of the book", etc.), but by contacting them, keep an eye on what new forces are emerging here in different industries, move them forward gradually, as their qualifications grow, involving them in the work of the state apparatus.

It is quite obvious that this growing initiative of the masses in the soviets, in the cooperatives, in the trade unions, in the initiative voluntary societies dictates, first of all, the need for the maximum development of the initiative of Party members in all organizations and the actual implementation of the principles of internal party democracy. Only under this condition will the Party organizations be able to really direct the growing activity of the masses in all spheres. And the task of the Central Control Commission and its organs should be to encourage this initiative of party members, encourage the initiative of individual party organizations. In particular, in their work to combat painful phenomena in the party, the Central Control Commission and its bodies should pay special attention to the fight against violators of internal party democracy, bringing to justice the guilty officials.

Having closely connected with grassroots party and public organizations, awakening their initiative and activity, pushing them on the path of living creativity, the 11KK and its bodies should be able to take into account this local experience coming from the bottom, and use their ties with these organizations of the working class and peasantry for a broad work on the selection of workers, on the promotion of new, young creative forces. In particular, with the above goals, the Central Control Commission and its organs should speak

more actively to the masses, making reports on their work at the bottom.

Selection of workers.

II. The work of selecting workers for state and economic bodies remains, as before, the most important task of the Party in the direction of the state and the economy. The bodies of the KK and RCI have so far worked in this direction, mainly by cleansing the state apparatus of unusable elements. However, the examination of the state apparatus, the connection of the RCI bodies with the production commissions of factory committees and with the economic commissions of the institutions, the participation of the RCI bodies in regulating the issue of nomination - all this gives the CC and RCI bodies the opportunity to assist party bodies in fulfilling the task of selecting workers also by selecting of them who in their activities have found appropriate preparedness, conscientiousness in work, appropriate knowledge, etc.

Because of this, the task of the Central Control Commission and the RKI in the future, to a greater extent than it has been up to now, should be active assistance to the relevant Party and Soviet bodies in the selection of workers in economic and state areas.

Promotion.

III. Attaching great importance to nomination in the matter of improving the state apparatus and bringing it closer to actually serving the needs of workers and peasants, the Congress instructs the KK-RCI bodies to provide active assistance to the relevant party committees in regulating this issue in all institutions, as well as taking into account the work experience of nominees from workers and peasants.

The Central Control Commission - RCI should organize its work in such a way that, by conducting an examination and study of the state apparatus, it becomes more and more a real school that trains state workers from the workers and peasants involved in the work of the RC and RCI. To this end, in addition to involving members of the KK and workers and peasants in the work, the organs of the KK - RKI



should maximize the involvement in their own work of promoted workers from workers and peasants, students of universities, technical schools and workers' faculties, as well as workers and peasants' youth.

Fighting bureaucracy.

IV. Despite some achievements in organizing the state apparatus, bureaucracy, a callous attitude to business, red tape, etc., are still its ineradicable evil. V.I. Lenin pointed to the restructuring of the state apparatus on the basis of the scientific organization of labor as the only correct and radical path the eradication of these vestiges of the past that have survived in the state apparatus even after its transfer to the leadership of the working class. While working in this direction, the Central Control Commission - RKI and its bodies should not stop for a moment the daily struggle against the ugly manifestations of bureaucracy, red tape, etc., revealed by the investigations carried out or by the complaints filed by workers and peasants.

With the aim of this constant struggle against the main shortcomings of the state apparatus, it is necessary, in particular, for the local bodies of the KK - RCI to pay special attention to the work on receiving and analyzing complaints and statements of workers and peasants. For the same purposes, the ties of the KK - RCI bodies with Rabselkorovskie (organizations for using press correspondence in the fight against the shortcomings of the state apparatus) should be strengthened.

Work in the field of rationalizing the apparatus.

V. 1) The building of socialism in our country poses, at the end of the restoration period, before the party and the state the task of such leadership of the state and economic apparatus, which would ensure the fastest possible development of productive forces and the transition of industry and agriculture to a new technical base. Along with measures of economic regulation, the party and the state must, in order to achieve this goal and to maximize the rate of development, take the lead and take over the leadership of the technical and organizational rationalization of the state and economic apparatus. This process of rationalization is a long-term process of continuous

improvements in the organization and technique of performing all the work of an institution and an enterprise, based on a thorough study of the work, and taking into account all experience in this area.

This process of rationalizing management and economy must involve all the creative forces of the working class and all workers appointed by the Party and the state to direct the respective parts of the state administration.

Practical rationalization measures will be successful and will really degenerate our technology and the organization of economy and management only if they are carried out by the leaders of the respective parts of the state apparatus themselves, with the active assistance of the broad masses of workers.

2) In view of this, the most perfect form of rationalization is the creation in institutions and economic agencies of special subsidiary bodies (rationalization departments, TNB, organizing bureau and institutions, etc.), the task of which should be to study the technique of organizing and operating the apparatus and making - on the basis of this studying and taking into account the data and experience of similar institutions of the USSR and the capitalist countries - measures that can increase the productivity of enterprises, raise labor productivity, simplify and reduce the cost of the state apparatus, and bring it closer to the masses.

3) In this regard, the role of the Central Control Commission - RKI should be significantly strengthened and increased, due to the tasks assigned to it by the party and the state, as a body of general regulation and management of work on rationalization in all its types and on the iBcex parts of state management and economy a body that assists institutions and enterprises in practical reorganization, and as a research center that develops rational systems for building various parts and functions of institutions and enterprises.

4) Management of work on rationalization of management and economy should not take on a bureaucratic-centralized character. In no case should there be such a situation that the Central Control Commission and the RCI consider themselves as an ordinary department, centralizing in their hands all the work in this area and

in the department that controls all work on rationalization in all departments, in all institutions and in all enterprises. This would be a new planting of bureaucracy, fettering the initiative and initiative of state bodies, which have already been awakened by the broadest upsurge in economic construction experienced by the country. It is necessary to avoid imposing rationalization measures on one or another leader, since without voluntary desire, without understanding the significance of this or that rationalization measure, there can be not any noticeable achievements in the field of correct and scientific organization of economy and management.

The NK RCI should carry out its work on the general management of the rationalization of the state apparatus as the actual accumulation of relevant experience and knowledge in the People's Commissariat itself, expand it only to the extent of the actual organizational capacity of productive management of work, paying main attention to encouraging the initiative and self-activity of the leaders of certain parts of the state or the economic apparatus, to initiate this initiative and initiative where it does not exist, to verify the work of one or another body of self-rationalization of departments and institutions, in order to prevent unnecessary and ineffective spending of public funds under the flag of rationalization.

5) The main task of the Central Control Commission and the RCI in this "area, of course, should be to encourage and assist the successfully working bodies of departmental rationalization and institutes for the scientific organization of labor, and finally, those healthy rationalization cadres who, no doubt, are increasingly the mass is provided by our Soviet public.

But already now it can be stated with complete evidence that sometimes the worst elements of our bureaucratic apparatus tend to hide behind the protective color of rationalization work. Even now there is a danger that these worst elements of the state apparatus will discredit the very idea of rationalization.

Therefore, the task of the Central Control Commission and the RKI should be a decisive struggle against these veiled aspirations to drag the old bureaucratic, bureaucratic principles into the vital work of

reorganizing the state apparatus. This struggle should take place both with the bodies of departmental rationalization, which work without a competent comprehensive study of the work process and on obviously unscientific grounds, and with similar pseudoscientific research institutes.

Finally, attention should also be paid to the proliferating so-called Not's literature, which often has absolutely nothing in common with the actual scientific organization of labor, speculating only on the interest aroused in broad strata in the scientific organization and rationalization of the state apparatus.

6) Among the work on assisting roc - and hoe bodies in the practical rationalization of the Central Control Commission - RCT should pay special attention to the transfer of a good example achieved in the field of organization or technology by one or another economic or administrative body to other homogeneous bodies.

7) In order to unite all rationalization forces working in various areas of management and economy, to develop general principles and methods of this work, in order to collectively check the work of already existing bodies for rationalizing and selecting the healthiest of them - the Congress considers it necessary to instruct Central Control Commission - RCI convocation of the III All-Union Conference on the Scientific Organization of Labor in the coming year.

Verification of execution and control over the activities of the state apparatus.

V. The most important tasks of the Central Control Commission - RCI should continue to check the implementation of the decisions and directives of the party and the state and control over the activities of the key parts of the state apparatus. Moreover, in this work, the Central Control Commission - RCI should act on the one hand, as a direct body for verification and control, and, on the other hand, as an organizer of such forms of harassment by individual state sectors, which would provide the governing bodies of the relevant departments with a constant systematic verification of the implementation of the adopted resolutions by all subordinate bodies and officials. The XIV Congress of the Party sets before the Central

Control Commission - RCI for the next year, as the most important task, the development of measures that provide an opportunity for the leading state and economic bodies of timely operational accounting and verification of implementation "

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# **XV КОНФЕРЕНЦИЯ ВСЕСОЮЗНОЙ КОММУНИСТИЧЕСКОЙ ПАРТИИ(б)**

★  
**СТЕНОГРАФИЧЕСКИЙ ОТЧЕТ**

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**ГОСУДАРСТВЕННОЕ  
ИЗДАТЕЛЬСТВО**

**Fifteenth conference of the All-Union Communist Party (b).  
October 26 - November 3, 1926**

The fifteenth conference of the CPSU (b) took place on October 26 - November 3, 1926 in Moscow. There were 194 delegates with a casting vote and 640 with an advisory vote.

Order of the day: On the international situation (speaker NI Bukharin); On the economic situation in the country and the tasks of the party (AI Rykov); Results of work and immediate tasks of trade unions (MP Tomsy); On the opposition and the internal party situation (I.V. Stalin).

The conference was held in an atmosphere of struggle against the so-called "Trotskyite-Zinoviev bloc" (which arose in the summer of 1926). In the resolution "On the report of the delegation of the CPSU (b) to the ECCI" the conference condemned the factional activities of the Trotskyite-Zinovievites bloc in the Comintern and obliged the delegation of the CPSU (b) to the ECCI to continue the struggle against anti-Leninist deviations in the Comintern.

The conference summed up the results of the development of the country's national economy in 1925-26. In its decision, the conference stated the completion of the restoration period and the entry of the socialist national economy into the period of reconstruction. The resolution stated that "it is necessary to strive to overtake and then surpass the level of industrial development of the advanced capitalist countries in a relatively minimal historical period." **The conference condemned the proposals of the leaders of the Trotskyite-Zinoviev bloc** to industrialize the country at the expense of high taxes from peasants and an increase in prices for industrial goods, since this would inevitably lead to the undermining of agriculture, to a drop in the rate of industrialization. The sources of funds for industrialization were indicated: the accumulation of socialist industry, the use through the state budget of the incomes of other branches of the national economy, the use of savings of the population. Special emphasis was placed on the all-round increase in labor productivity as a decisive factor in achieving victory over capitalism.

The conference determined the immediate tasks for the 1926-27 financial year. It was planned to increase industrial production by 17-18% (in heavy industry by more than 20%), to accelerate the development of mechanical engineering, electrification, metallurgy, the fuel industry, and transport, on which the growth of the national economy as a whole depended. When planning a new location of productive forces, two problems were simultaneously solved: bringing industrial enterprises closer to sources of raw materials and creating industrial centers in the backward national regions of the country. In the field of agriculture, practical measures were determined to develop the productive forces, to strengthen and expand socialist forms of economy (agricultural co-operatives, state farms, collective farms) and to further strengthen the alliance of the working class with the bulk of the peasantry.

The conference outlined a program for enhancing the role of trade unions in the struggle for a regime of economy, for improving the work of production conferences at enterprises, and strengthening the communist education of the masses.

An important place in the work of the conference was occupied by the question of the opposition and the internal party situation. On this issue, **a resolution was adopted** "On the opposition bloc in the CPSU (b)", which characterized the **Trotskyite-Zinoviev bloc as a social democratic, Menshevik deviation in the party in the main question of the nature and prospects of the October Revolution of 1917**. The party's position on the victory of socialism was substantiated in the USSR, under conditions of capitalist encirclement, the "defeatist" ideology of Trotskyism, which denied the possibility of building socialism in the USSR in the absence of revolutions in the developed countries of Europe, was condemned.



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# ВСЕРОССИЙСКИЙ XIII СЪЕЗД СОВЕТОВ

ЗАСЕДАНИЕ ПЕРВОЕ.

Вечернее, 10 апреля 1927 года.

Названия. Товарищи, по поручению Всероссийского Центрального Исполнительного Комитета, приветствую делегатов XIII Всероссийского Съезда Советов рабочих, крестьянских и красноармейских депутатов (и продолжительные аплодисменты).

В промежутке между XII и XIII Всероссийскими Съездами Советов среди членов Всероссийского Центрального Исполнительного Комитета и лиц, занимавших высшие правительственные посты, мы понесли огромные потери: во-первых, мы потеряли Народного Комиссара по Военным и Морским Делам т. Фрунзе, Председателя Высшего Совета Народного Хозяйства Союза ССР Дзержинского и т. Красина, занимавшего в последнее время пост подпреда в Англии. Я не буду характеризовать умерших товарищей, ибо деятельность их перед глазами всех нас, и работа их слишком хорошо известна рабочим и крестьянам Союза. Из членов Всероссийского Центрального Исполнительного Комитета за это время скончались: т. Тиньштыкбаев — киргиз-казак, беспартийный крестьянин Наумов, Семён Галактионович, Доктев, Иван Николаевич и Королев, Григорий Кузьмич.

Предлагаю почтить память умерших товарищей вставанием. (Все встают, оркестр исполняет похоронный марш).

Товарищи, всего на Съезде Советов по Конституции должно быть 1,100 делегатов с решающим голосом, присутствует же на настоящем заседании 985 делегатов с решающим и 418 с совещательным голосом. Таким образом, Съезд правомочен приступить к своим занятиям.

## **Thirteenth All-Russian Congress of Soviets: Verbatim Report. April 10-16, 1927**

Moscow: All-Russian Central Executive Committee, 1927. - 591 p.: incl. ill.

Verbatim report of the All-Russian XIII Congress of Soviets, held on April 10-16, 1927 in Moscow.

Amendments to the Constitution of the RSFSR were discussed at the congress.

Resolution of the XIII All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers, Peasants, Cossacks, and Red Army Deputies

On amendments to Articles 37, 38 and 47 of the Constitution (Basic Law) of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic of April 15, 1927

In connection with the transformation of the People's Commissariat of Internal Trade of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic into the People's Commissariat of Trade of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic and with the formation of the Central Statistical Department of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic as a united People's Commissariat of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic, the XIII All-Russian Congress the following amendments and additions to the Constitution (Basic Law) of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic:

1. In article 37 of the Constitution of the R.S.F.S.R.:

- a) the words: "eleven People's Commissariats" shall be replaced by the words: "twelve People's Commissariats";
- b) the words: "Internal Trade" shall be replaced by the word: "Trade";
- c) after the words: "Workers 'and Peasants' Inspection" insert the words: "Central Statistical Office".

2. In article 38 of the Constitution of the RSFSR:

a) the words: "Internal Trade" shall be replaced by the word: "Trade";

b) after the words: "Workers 'and Peasants' Inspection" insert the words: "as well as the Central Statistical Office."

3. In article 47 of the Constitution of the RSFSR:

a) the words: "Internal Trade" shall be replaced by the word: "Trade";

b) the words: "and the Supreme Council of the National Economy" shall be replaced by the words: "the Supreme Council of the National Economy and the Central Statistical Office."

Chairman of the XIII All-Russian Congress of Soviets      Secretary of  
the XIII All-Russian Congress of Soviets

M. Kalinin      D. Kiselev

Moscow Kremlin

April 15, 1927

ПРОЛЕТАРИИ ВСЕХ СТРАН, СОЕДИНЯЙТЕСЬ!



**XV СЪЕЗД  
ВСЕСОЮЗНОЙ  
КОММУНИСТИЧЕСКОЙ  
ПАРТИИ-(Б)**



**СТЕНОГРАФИЧЕСКИЙ  
ОТЧЕТ**



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ГОСУДАРСТВЕННОЕ ИЗДАТЕЛЬСТВО

**Fifteenth Congress of the All-Union Communist Party (b).  
December 2 -19, 1927**

December 1928. Verbatim report.

The Fifteenth Congress of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) was held in Moscow from December 2 to December 19, 1927. The congress was attended by 1,669 delegates, 898 of them with a casting vote, 771 with an advisory vote.

Representatives of 21 foreign communist parties attended the congress as guests.

**The congress approved the political and organizational line of the Central Committee** and defined the further tasks of the party in implementing Lenin's plan for building a socialist society in the USSR. The congress **approved the Directives for drawing up the first five-year plan** for the development of the national economy of the USSR, indicating that, taking into account the international situation of the country, it is necessary in a short historical period to ensure such a rise in its economy and defense capability that would allow the USSR to resist the possible military and economic intervention of imperialist states. In the interests of industrialization, it was proposed to develop machine building and other branches of heavy industry at the fastest pace.

The **resolution "On work in the countryside"** noted that the development of agriculture was characterized by the struggle between socialist and capitalist tendencies, that the proletarian state was doing everything possible to grow and strengthen the socialist tendency by pursuing a strictly consistent class policy in the countryside, strengthening the planning and regulating role of state bodies, development of cooperative construction, strengthening the alliance of the working class with the working peasantry. The congress stated that, despite the successes achieved, agriculture continued to lag behind industry. The village also lagged behind in socio-political development. If the city was dominated by socialist production relations, industrial production was based on state property, in the countryside, small-scale peasant farming based on private property prevailed. As a result, the average annual rates of

agricultural production. production was 4-5 times lower than the growth rate of industrial production, which did not meet the ever-growing needs of the country. In order to create a unified socialist economy, it became necessary to restructure production relations in the countryside, and to mechanize agriculture. In addition, small-scale peasant farming was the basis for the growth of capitalist elements. The congress proclaimed a course towards the all-round development of the collectivization of agriculture in the USSR as the primary task of the party. In order to improve party organizational work and strengthen party influence on the poor and middle peasants, it is necessary to strengthen the groups of the poor under the Soviets and cooperatives; to increase the enrollment of farm laborers and poor peasants in the party; to strengthen cooperative and Soviet bodies in the countryside with party cadres. Within the apparatus of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks, provincial committees, regional committees and okrug committees, it was decided to create departments for work in the countryside.

Approving the activities of the Central Control Commission to protect the unity of the party and strengthen discipline in it, the congress proposed that the Central Control Commission - RKI continue to focus on improving and reducing the state apparatus, on the fight against bureaucracy, attracting broad masses of workers and peasants to this work.

Having considered the activities of the delegation of the CPSU (b) in the Executive Committee of the Comintern, the congress noted that the CPSU (b), together with other Communist Parties, ensured a further increase in the role of the Comintern as the fighting headquarters of the international proletariat, achieved the ideological and organizational strengthening of its sections and strengthening their influence on the world revolutionary movement ...

At the suggestion of the Central Control Commission of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), the congress considered the question of the so-called "Trotskyite-Zinoviev anti-party bloc." The congress declared "... belonging to the Trotskyist opposition and the propaganda of its views incompatible with being in the ranks of the

Bolshevik Party." The leading opposition group, consisting of 121 people, addressed the congress with a statement on the termination of the factional struggle and submission to its decisions, indicating at the same time that they did not abandon their political views.

To consider materials about the opposition, the congress created a commission of 65 delegates chaired by G.K. Ordzhonikidze. After hearing the report of the commission, the congress adopted a resolution "On the opposition," in which it indicated that in the ideological field, the differences between the party and the opposition are of a programmatic nature. In matters of tactics, the opposition crossed the line of internal party discipline and took the path of an open struggle against Soviet power. In the organizational field, she took steps to create her own party and governing bodies, to establish her own internal party discipline. The congress approved the expulsion of L.D. Trotsky and G.E. Zinoviev by the decree of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission of November 14, 1927 and expelled from the party another 75 active members of the anti-party bloc; the group of "democratic centralism" T.V.

The Congress elected the Central Committee of 71 members and 50 candidates, the Central Auditing Commission - 9 people, and the Central Control Commission - 195 people.

The 15th Congress of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks went down in history as a congress that directed the party to collectivize agriculture and prepare for the offensive of socialism along the entire front of economic development.

Draft resolution to the report of the Central Control Commission - RCI.

I.

The Fifteenth Congress fully and completely endorsed the work of the Central Control Commission - RCI both in the field of protecting the unity and discipline of the Party and in combating the bureaucratic perversion of the state apparatus.

The congress noted with satisfaction that under the most difficult conditions of the splitting activity of the Trotskyist-Menshevik opposition unheard of in the party, the Central Control Commission had successfully fulfilled Ilyich's behest to preserve the unity of the Bolshevik Party. The Congress fully approves the measures taken by the Central Control Commission against the violators of unity, the organizers of the factional struggle against the Party and the destroyers of its discipline.

Strengthening the ranks of the party and increasing its ability to carry out the basic tasks of socialist construction, the Central Control Commission successfully fought against the decayed elements of the party and the abuse of power by individual communists.

The Congress approves of the work of the Central Control Commission in the field of combating violations of internal Party democracy, with elements of bureaucracy in the Party, and invites the Central Control Commission to further strengthen this work.

The Congress notes with satisfaction that the Central Control Commission-RCI during the period under review drew the attention of the entire party and waged an energetic struggle against bureaucracy, for improving and cheapening the state apparatus, attracting the attention of the broad masses of workers and peasants to this matter.

In accordance with this, the first successes have been achieved in the field of combating bureaucratic distortions and in terms of improving the state apparatus: implementing a saving regime, somewhat simplifying, and reducing the apparatus, reducing reporting, unproductive expenses, etc.

## II.

Considering that the successes achieved and the experience of the RKI prove that the party and the proletariat have tremendous opportunities for further development of the struggle against the bureaucratic distortions of our apparatus, the Congress invites the Central Control Commission-RKI to be guided in its work to improve the apparatus by the following instructions:



1) Building its work on the basis of involving the broad working people in improving the Soviet apparatus and combating bureaucracy, the Rabkrin must be the organizer of workers and working peasants who check the work of the Soviet apparatus.

Working through and jointly with existing organizations, such as trade union, production commissions, control commissions, factories, local committees, production and economic conferences, council sections, etc., the Workers' Committee must involve workers in all stages of its work, ending with a discussion of their conclusions. work at general factory meetings, open meetings of cells, club meetings, etc. For work in which the Rabkrin resolves issues most directly related to the interests of the working people, the congress instructs the Rabkrin to attract, by analogy with party and judicial assessors, workers allocated (elected) by enterprises, peasants elected by rural gatherings, etc.

Verification of the fulfillment of the directives of the party and government by the Rabkrin by the Soviet bodies shall be carried out by the forces of workers elected by the factory assemblies and only headed and instructed by the workers of the Rabkrin. At the same time, the Rabkrin should proceed from Lenin's instructions:

"If we want to fight bureaucracy, then we must involve the lower classes ..."

(Lenin, vol. XVIII, part 2, p. 189.)

"What other ways can we stop bureaucracy, if not by attracting workers and peasants ..." (Ibid., P. 188.)

2) To intensify the work on verifying the implementation of Soviet and party democracy, steadily removing all obstacles to its implementation, and punishing those guilty of violating it, exercising valid elections, the right to recall deputies, nominating workers to work in management (the degree of implementation by grassroots social organizations of workers and peasants rights and duties assigned to them by Soviet laws, etc.). At the same time, pay special attention to the promotion of workers into the Soviet apparatus, unswervingly pursuing a bureaucratic attitude towards this

involvement and achieving new successes in the real work of the Soviet apparatus.

3) Unswervingly study and identify the perversions generated by the attack on certain links of the state apparatus of the Forces hostile to the proletariat, especially in those parts of the apparatus and in those branches of management in which these perversions can manifest themselves with special force (credit, labor protection, cooperation, etc..).

4) Unswervingly continue to work on reducing the cost and simplification of the state, trade, cooperative and industrial apparatus, for a mode of economy; in particular, to bring to the end on all, without exception, levels of management and economy 20 percent. reduction of administrative costs.

5) To put the work on checking the progress of rationalization both in the field of the state apparatus and in industry and the commercial apparatus. Pay special attention to checking the results of rationalization work in the field of industry from the point of view of achieving a real reduction in the cost of production, improving the situation of workers, the correct use of labor of workers and specialists, the assimilation of the best examples of European and American technology and the widespread use of the achievements and examples of good work that we already have. ...

6) To check the correctness of the use of scientific and technical forces in our country, since the successful implementation of rationalization is possible only with

... wide involvement and correct use of scientific and technical forces, both ours and foreign.

7) To further develop deeper work on checking capital repairs and new construction in order to make it cheaper, decisively eliminate unnecessary overhead costs and assimilate the achievements of advanced capitalist technology.

8) Continue to work to create accounting and reporting that is concise, cheap, clear, and exactly appropriate for planning and management

tasks. In particular, to expand the experience of mechanization of office and accounting business.

9) To further intensify the struggle against our organizational shortcomings, with red tape, with mismanagement, and licentiousness, and strive to further strengthen the responsibility of performers, establish a precise delineation of functions, and eliminate parallelism.

10) Unswervingly persecute and ensure merciless prosecution through the organs of the court of all employees of the state apparatus (both communists and non-party people), guilty of a dismissive, lordly, arrogant attitude towards an ordinary visitor, poorly dressed, illiterate; the manifestation of inattention to the ordinary worker or peasant on the part of any employee of the state, commercial, cooperative and industrial apparatus should be considered as a sabotage of the Soviet regime, which fundamentally denies any privileges of wealth, birth, good clothing, on which the oppression of the masses is based in bourgeois countries.

11) Strengthen, in accordance with Lenin's repeated instructions, verification of the implementation of Soviet laws and party directives. Since the experience of the implementation of our laws in recent years shows an outrageous delay and red tape in the implementation of laws, - to ensure, with the help of the workers and peasants, a massive verification of the degree of implementation of all the most important measures of the government and at the same time the strictest punishment of persons and bodies guilty of delaying and non-compliance with the Party's directive and government laws.

12) To intensify resistance to those workers of the state apparatus who would try to oppose the work of the party to eliminate bureaucratic distortions with their routine, inertness, bureaucratic complacency, behind which the pressure of classes hostile to the proletariat is often hidden.

### III.

The Congress instructs all Party organs to take measures to improve work in the press in the field of combating bureaucratic outrages. The

press should wage this struggle as Lenin taught it, "regardless of faces", in no way limiting itself to mere trifles, as is often the case when organizing workers and peasants around the proletarian dictatorship in the struggle for the socialist remaking of our state apparatus.

#### IV.

The congress instructs all party bodies to ensure the expansion of the work of the court in the field of combating bureaucracy, unswervingly bringing to the people's court workers as well as those of the state and economic apparatus, guilty of criminal mismanagement, unacceptable excesses, in the bureaucratic attitude towards the fight against bureaucratic perversions, not while allowing no relief of sentences or refusal to conduct a judicial investigation due to worker-peasant origin, past merits, connections, etc. In order to eliminate any privileges of employees of the state apparatus, abolish the disciplinary court and hand over the perpetrators of crimes to the employees of the state apparatus to the general civil court.

#### V.

Considering the trade unions one of the main organizers of the mass struggle against bureaucracy, the congress draws the attention of the factions of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions and all trade unions to the need to significantly strengthen the participation of the trade unions in all matters of combating the bureaucratic perversions of the Soviet apparatus. The trade unions must organize the cause of mass support for the struggle of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection to improve the state apparatus. This work of the trade unions should be based on the initiative and activity of the entire system of professional organizations, starting with their factory lower cells. In particular, trade unions should undertake the identification of each specific case of bureaucracy, the prosecution of each revealed case of bureaucracy by all measures provided for by the laws of the proletarian state, from public condemnation to bringing to justice directly or through the RFL.

The Congress draws special attention to the need to develop the work of the union of Soviet and commercial employees, whose main duty is the social education of the workers of the state apparatus, the

promotion of the formation of workers honestly devoted to the cause of socialist construction. The measure of the success of this work is the main measure for checking the success of the work of the union of Soviet trade employees.

Creation of a cheap and well-functioning apparatus is not enough for us. Improvement of the management technique alone does not solve the tasks we face of the socialist remaking of the entire apparatus and of preparing the conditions for the complete withering away of the state. Improving management techniques is not only a means of making the apparatus cheaper and simpler, but also a way of attracting new strata of workers to management and providing them with the best service.

The Congress particularly emphasizes this relationship between the task of improving the technique of government and the task of developing proletarian democracy, since the struggle to improve the technique of government, to assimilate by our apparatus of the best achievements of the culture of advanced states, should not only not lead to its self-closure, to its separation from the masses, but must create conditions conducive to and facilitating the expansion and involvement of the masses in government.

## VI.

The Congress considers that the development of proletarian democracy, the involvement of new hundreds of thousands of workers and peasants in the administration of the state is the main condition for the success of our struggle against bureaucracy and the improvement of our state apparatus. Accordingly, the main method of combating bureaucracy in our country is the further implementation of the measures indicated by the party program.

“Waging the most resolute struggle against bureaucracy, the RCP advocates the following measures to completely overcome this evil:

1. Mandatory involvement of each member of the council, in the performance of certain work on government.
2. Sequential change of these jobs so that they gradually cover all branches of management.

3. Gradual involvement of the entire working population, without exception, in the work of government.

Full and comprehensive implementation of these measures, representing a further step along the path that the Paris Commune has embarked on, and the simplification of management functions while raising the cultural level of the working people, lead to the destruction of state power. " (VIII Congress of the RCP, in resolution, pp. 174-175.)

ПРОЛЕТАРИИ ВСЕХ СТРАН, СОЕДИНЯЙТЕСЬ !

**ХVІ КОНФЕРЕНЦИЯ  
ВСЕСОЮЗНОЙ  
КОММУНИСТИЧЕСКОЙ  
ПАРТИИ (б)**



**СТЕНОГРАФИЧЕСКИЙ  
ОТЧЕТ**

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ГОСУДАРСТВЕННОЕ ИЗДАТЕЛЬСТВО

## **Sixteenth Conference of the All-Union Communist Party (b). 23 - 29 April 1929.**

Verbatim record. - M.-L.: Gosizdat, 1929.

The sixteenth conference of the CPSU (b) was held on April 23-29, 1929 in Moscow. There were 254 delegates with a casting vote and 679 with an advisory vote. Order of the day: Five-year plan for the development of the national economy (speakers AI Rykov, GM Krzhizhanovsky, VV Kuibyshev); Ways of raising agriculture and tax relief for the middle peasant (MI Kalinin); Results and immediate tasks of combating bureaucracy (Ya.A. Yakovlev); On the cleaning and verification of members and candidates of the CPSU (b) (E.M. Yaroslavsky).

**The main issue of the conference was the discussion and adoption of the first five-year plan for the development of the national economy of the USSR.** The development of the five-year plan and its discussion at the conference took place in the struggle against the so-called "right deviation in the CPSU (b)", whose leaders (N.I. Bukharin, A.I. Rykov, M.P. Tomsy) questioned the reality of the plan, insisted on its "minimal" version. [The first five-year plan was drawn up in two versions - the initial ("minimum") and "optimal", calculated for the full mobilization of all reserves and opportunities inherent in the Soviet social system. The tasks of the "optimal" variant exceeded the starting one by about 20%.] The conference approved the "optimal" variant of the five-year plan.

The first five-year plan was a broad program for the economic, social, and cultural transformation of society. Its implementation meant a sweeping offensive of socialism along the entire front and was supposed to lead to the construction of the foundation of the socialist economy and the ousting of the capitalist elements in order to completely eliminate them. Having defined the tasks in the field of organizing large-scale socialist agriculture, the conference at the same time outlined a number of measures for rendering assistance to the poor and middle peasant individual farms; approved a new law on agricultural. tax, according to which the poor farms were exempted from the tax, the taxation of the middle farms was reduced, and the



main burden was shifted to the kulaks. The conference condemned the position of the "right" as aimed at disrupting collectivization, and qualified their views "... as a direct transition to the position of kulaks ...", calling on the party to fight them as a serious danger in its ranks.

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ПРОЛЕТАРИИ ВСЕХ СТРАН, СОЕДИНЯЙТЕСЬ!



# ХIV ВСЕРОССИЙСКИЙ С'ЕЗД СОВЕТОВ

СТЕНОГРАФИЧЕСКИЙ ОТЧЕТ

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ИЗДАНИЕ ВЦИК  
МОСКВА  
1929

## **Fourteenth All-Russian Congress of Soviets. May 10-18, 1929**

Moscow: All-Russian Central Executive Committee, 1929. - [645] p.

Verbatim report of the All-Russian XIV Congress of Soviets, held on May 10-18, 1929 in Moscow. At the congress, the first five-year plan was considered and approved, changes and additions were made to the Constitution of the RSFSR.

### **ON THE REPORT ON THE FIVE-YEAR PLAN FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S ECONOMY AND SOCIAL AND CULTURAL CONSTRUCTION OF THE RSFSR**

I. Having heard the reports on the five-year plan for the development of the national economy and social and cultural construction of the RSFSR, the XIV All-Russian Congress of Soviets resolves:

1. To recognize that the drawing up of the five-year plan is an expression of the greatest achievements in socialist construction and the widespread implementation of the principles of planning in all areas of this construction, thereby testifying to the growing strengthening of Soviet power.

2. To recognize that the five-year plan, providing for a huge volume and high rate of construction and the broadest development of the country's socialist industrialization, is quite reasonable and provides:

a) In industry - its powerful development and reconstruction on a high technical basis, as the basis for the socialist reorganization of the entire national economy, and above all the development of industry that produces the means of production. At the same time, the five-year plan creates, in accordance with the decisions of the VIII All-Russian Congress of Soviets, by organizing regional power stations, a powerful energy base for the development of the entire national economy and provides for significant shifts in the geography of industry and the industrialization of national state associations and outskirts. At the same time, by restructuring industry on the basis of higher technology and organization of production on the basis of socialist rationalization, the five-year plan creates conditions for a significant increase in productivity, lowering costs and selling prices. This makes it possible to envisage in it a steady increase in both

nominal and real wages, an increase in the number of workers employed in industry, a reduction in unemployment and the general implementation of the seven-hour working day. The five-year plan provides for a significant increase in the production of consumer goods and cultural and economic items.

b) In agriculture - the rise and reorganization of agriculture on the basis of: an increased supply of agricultural implements, machines and tractors, a significant increase in the supply of artificial fertilizers, pest control, land management, increasing yields, expanding the area under crops, especially a significant increase in grain crops, and also livestock development. The five-year plan envisages a powerful strengthening of the socialized sector in agricultural production through the development of collective and state farm construction and the strengthening of the cooperation of the poor and middle peasant masses on a higher technical basis. Along with the all-round development of the socialist sector of agriculture (state farms, collective farms), the five-year plan provides for a significant rise in the individual poor and middle peasant farms, while decisively limiting exploitation by the kulak strata of the countryside.

Reconstruction of the economy on the basis of the latest technology requires a tremendous increase in technical and scientific knowledge in the country and its implementation. In view of this, the rapid increase in the cadre of specialists and cultural workers both in the city and in the countryside is one of the most important conditions for the implementation of the five-year plan.

II. The XIV All-Russian Congress of Soviets states that the five-year plan correctly reflects the general line of Soviet power on industrialization, on the socialist reorganization of agriculture, on the utmost strengthening of socialist elements in the system of the national economy and is a major step forward in the implementation of the slogan of the Soviet power: to catch up and overtake the advanced capitalist country.

Proceeding from the above, as the basis that determines the nature and direction of the five-year plan, and at the same time taking into account that the presented plan should be strengthened in a direction

that ensures a greater expansion of cultivated areas, especially in the Volga region and the North Caucasus, a greater development of forestry and timber industry, according to the resolution of the Council of People's Commissars of the RSFSR dated April 29, 1929, as well as a faster pace of development of social and cultural construction, especially in the area of building mass schools, the XIV All-Russian Congress of Soviets decides to approve the five-year plan for the development of the national economy presented by the Government of the RSFSR.

III. The Congress of Soviets appeals to the broad working masses of town and country with an appeal for their active participation in the implementation of the five-year plan. Only on the basis of the greatest growth in the activity of the working class, the rural poor and the middle peasants, with their active participation in the struggle against bureaucracy for the improvement of the Soviet, cooperative and economic apparatus, with their rallying in the struggle against the NEP and the kulak, with the broad development of self-criticism from below, with the establishment of an iron labor discipline at enterprises, raising labor productivity and reducing costs, with an intensified growth of scientific and technical forces and a general improvement in the quality of all work, it is possible to fully implement the tasks set in the plan for a full-scale socialist offensive. The socialist competition that has developed in recent years, both in the city and in the countryside, must be further developed.

The Congress of Soviets is confident that the broad masses of the working people, under the leadership of the working class, will overcome all difficulties, and that this five-year plan, as part of the great general plan for the socialist transformation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, will be fully implemented.

The chairman, XIV All-Russian Congress

Advice, M. KALININ

Secretary, XIV All-Russian Congress

Advice, A. KISELEV

ПРОЛЕТАРИИ ВСЕХ СТРАН, СОЕДИНЯЙТЕСЬ!

**ХVІ СЪЕЗДЪ  
ВСЕСОЮЗНОЙ  
КОММУНИСТИЧЕСКОЙ  
ПАРТІИ (б)**

**СТЕНОГРАФИЧЕСКИЙ  
ОТЧЕТ**

**А Д З О**

**ГОСУДАРСТВЕННОЕ ИЗДАТЕЛЬСТВО**

## **Sixteenth Congress of the All-Union Communist Party (b). June 26 to July 13, 1930**

The Sixteenth Congress of the CPSU (B) was held June 26 - July 13, 1930 in Moscow. There were 1,268 delegates with a casting vote and 891 with an advisory vote, representing 1,260,874 party members and 711,609 candidates.

Order of the day:

Political report of the Central Committee (lecturer I. V. Stalin);

Organizational report of the Central Committee (L.M. Kaganovich);

Report of the Central Auditing Commission (MF Vladimirsky);

Report of the Central Control Commission (G.K. Ordzhonikidze);

Report of the delegation of the CPSU (b) to the ECCI (VM Molotov);

Fulfillment of the five-year industrial plan (V.V. Kuibyshev);

The collective farm movement and the rise of agriculture (Ya.A. Yakovlev);

Tasks of trade unions in the reconstruction period (N.M. Shvernik);

Election of the central institutions of the party.

An analysis of the international and internal situation of the USSR was given in the Central Committee's report and in the resolution of the Congress adopted on this issue, and the main tasks of the new stage of socialist construction were determined. The successes of building socialism in the countryside were reflected in the mass collective farm movement. By the time of the congress, collective farms in the main grain-growing regions united 40-50% of peasant farms. The congress approved the transition to a policy of liquidating the kulaks as a class on the basis of complete collectivization.

The congress noted that successful socialist construction was ensured by a decisive struggle on two fronts - against Trotskyism and against the right deviation in the CPSU (b). The congress declared the views

of the right opposition to be incompatible with belonging to the CPSU (b).

The congress drew attention to the need to further improve and reduce the cost of the state apparatus, set the task of continuing the purge of governing bodies, intensifying the fight against bureaucracy, and achieving exact implementation of the decisions of the party and government.

Approving the activities of the delegation of the CPSU (b) in the Executive Committee of the Comintern, the congress noted the great merits of the Comintern in defeating Trotskyism and right opportunism, supported the organizational measures developed by the Comintern aimed at cleansing the communist parties of right and "left" opportunists.

After hearing and discussing the report on the fulfillment of the five-year industrial plan, the congress noted that the party had achieved an over fulfillment of the planned targets, and increased the initial outline of the plan. Particular attention was paid to the all-round upsurge in heavy industry, the acceleration of the development of ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, the introduction of advanced technology, the production of new machinery and equipment necessary for the technical reconstruction of all sectors of the economy. The congress decided to create in the near future in the east the second coal and metallurgical base of the country - the Ural-Kuznetsk Combine. The congress proposed to speed up the development of those industries that are associated with strengthening the defense capability of the USSR.

At the congress, the question of the collective-farm movement was comprehensively considered. Since the five-year plan was exceeded in the field of collectivization, the congress recognized it necessary to revise the five-year plan for the development of agriculture. The main task was to complete (mainly) the socialist transformation of the countryside, in the economic strengthening of the collective farms.

On the issue of trade unions, the congress emphasized the need to increase their role in socialist construction, determined their immediate tasks: to develop socialist competition and the shock



workers' movement, improve the qualifications of workers, and fight inertia and bureaucracy. The congress put forward the slogan "Trade unions face production!"

The congress elected a Central Committee with 71 members and 67 candidates, a Central Auditing Commission with 13 members and a Central Control Commission with 187 members.

The 16th Congress of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks went down in history as the congress of the unfolded offensive of socialism along the entire front. He gave instructions for speeding up the pace of creating the material and technical basis of socialism, for the elimination of all capitalist elements in the country.

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РФСР

Пролетарии всех стран, соединитесь!

**XV**

**ВСЕРОССИЙСКИЙ  
С'ЕЗД  
С О В Е Т О В**

**СТЕНОГРАФИЧЕСКИЙ ОТЧЕТ**

Издание ВЦИК  
Москва — 1931

## **Fifteenth All-Russian Congress of Soviets. February 26 - March 5, 1931**

Verbatim Report. - Moscow: publishing house and type. All-Russian Central Executive Committee, 1931. - [586] p.

Verbatim report of the All-Russian XI Congress of Soviets, held February 26 - March 5, 1931 in Moscow. At the congress, the results of the first two years of the first five-year plan were summed up, the government was instructed to ensure the further development of the collective farm movement, to continue the struggle for universal education and the complete elimination of illiteracy.

There were 1134 delegates with a casting vote and 538 with an advisory vote. Among the delegates with a decisive vote were: members of the CPSU (b) - 802, members of the Komsomol - 33, non-partisan - 299; workers - 610, peasants - 317, the rest - employees.

Agenda: reporting of the government of the RSFSR (lecturer D. Ye. Sulimov); on amendments to the Constitution of the RSFSR (speaker A. Kiselev); about universal education and polytechnization of the mass school (A. S. Bubnov); report of the Tsentrosoyuz on the state and tasks of consumer cooperation (I.A. Zelensky); the report of the credentials committee of the congress (MF Shkiryatov); election of members of the Central Executive Committee and members of the Council of Nationalities of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR from the RSFSR.

The congress summed up the results of the first 2 years of the five-year plan. The economic achievements of these years made it possible to outline the accelerated rates of socialist construction. The government of the RSFSR was asked to take under special supervision the construction of the 2nd coal and metallurgical base in the east of the country; to take measures for the further development of collective and state farm development. The delegates paid special attention to raising the economy and culture of the national autonomous republics and regions to the level of the advanced regions of the country.

The congress made changes to some articles of the Constitution of the RSFSR in connection with legislative changes in the composition of the people's commissariats, the liquidation of administrative districts (1930) and the transition to the district system. The decree on the report of the RSFSR People's Commissariat for Education spoke of the need for all Soviet and economic organizations to consider the struggle for universal compulsory primary education, the polytechnization of schools and the complete elimination of illiteracy as the most important task of the Soviet government.

All-Russian Central Executive Committee elected - 400 members. 5 people were elected from the RSFSR to the Council of Nationalities of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR.

ПРОЛЕТАРИИ ВСЕХ СТРАН, СОЕДИНЯЙТЕСЬ!

# ХVII КОНФЕРЕНЦИЯ ВСЕСОЮЗНОЙ КОММУНИСТИЧЕСКОЙ ПАРТИИ (б)

СТЕНОГРАФИЧЕСКИЙ  
ОТЧЕТ

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ПАРТИЙНОЕ ИЗДАТЕЛЬСТВО

**Seventeenth Conference of the All-Union Communist Party (b).  
January 30 - February 4, 1932.**

Verbatim record. - Moscow: Partizdat, 1932

The seventeenth conference of the CPSU (b) took place on January 30 - February 4, 1932 in Moscow; 386 delegates attended with a casting vote and 525 with an advisory vote.

Order of the day: Results of industrial development in 1931 and tasks of 1932 (lecturer GK Ordzhonikidze); Directives for the preparation of the 2nd five-year plan of the national economy of the USSR for 1933-37. (V.M. Molotov and V.V. Kuibyshev).

The conference noted that the results of industrial development in 1931 ensured the fulfillment of the directives of the 16th Congress of the CPSU (b) (1930) on the completion of the 1st five-year plan in 4 years. In 1931, industrial production increased by 20%. The largest enterprises were put into operation: the Nizhny Novgorod (Gorkovsky) and Moscow Automobile Plants, the Kharkov Tractor Plant and the Saratov Combine Plant, the 1st stage of the Ural Heavy Engineering Plant, etc. A new coal and metallurgical base was laid - the Ural-Kuzbass Combine. The technical base of the national economy created during the years of the 1st five-year plan made it possible to develop all branches of industry and ensure the further reconstruction and mechanization of agriculture. The foundation of the socialist economy in the USSR was laid. The conference pointed out a number of shortcomings in the work of industry,

The conference worked out guidelines for drawing up a plan for the second five-year plan for 1933-37. It was emphasized that the reconstruction of the national economy requires a complete mastery of technology, the creation of a cadre of technical intelligentsia from among workers and peasants, and an increase in the cultural level of all working people.

The conference consolidated the line on improving the methods of industrial management, rejected the leftist proposals on the transition to "product exchange", on the "withering away of money" already at this stage of building socialism.

**МАТЕРИАЛЫ  
ОБЪЕДИНЕННОГО  
П Л Е Н У М А  
Ц К и Ц К К  
В К П (б)**

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**ЯНВАРЬ 1933 г.**

**ЛЕГПАРТИСАД  
ЛЕНИНГРАД • 1933**

**Joint plenum of the Central Committee and the Central Committee  
of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (b), January 1933**

Materials of the joint plenum of the Central Committee and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (b). - L.: Lenpartizdat, 1933. -- 196 p.

I. Stalin. Results of the first five-year plan.

V. Molotov. Tasks of the first year of the second five-year plan.

B. Kuibyshev. Results of the struggle for the technical reconstruction of the national economy.

I. Stalin. About work in the village.

C. Ordzhonikidze. Speech at the joint plenum of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission of the CPSU (b).

J. Rudzutak. Speech at the joint plenum of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission of the CPSU (b).

L. M. Kaganovich. The goals and objectives of the political departments of the MTS and state farms.

Resolutions.

Results of the first five-year plan and the national economic plan of 1933 - the first year of the second five-year plan

Aims and tasks of the political departments of MTS and state farms.





## **Seventeenth Congress of the All-Union Communist Party (b), January 26 to February 10, 1934**

The XVII Congress of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks was held in Moscow from January 26 to February 10, 1934 and was called the "Congress of Winners". It is also known as the "Congress of the Executed", because out of 1966 its delegates (1227 with a decisive vote, 739 with an advisory vote), about 70% died, becoming victims of the struggle for power during the Great Terror.

Order of the day

Report of the CPSU (b) (IV Stalin)

Report of the Central Auditing Commission (MF Vladimirsky)

Report of the Central Control Commission - RCI (Y. E. Rudzutak)

Report of the delegation of the CPSU (b) to the ECCI (D.Z. Manuilsky)

Plan of the second five-year plan (V.M. Molotov and V.V. Kuibyshev)

Organizational issues (party and Soviet construction) (L.M. Kaganovich)

Election of the central bodies of the party

Decisions of the Congress

In the field of political construction

- According to the report of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b): To approve the political line and practical work of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b), as well as the report of Comrade Stalin and invite all Party organizations to be guided in their work by the provisions and tasks put forward in the report of Comrade Stalin.

- According to the report of the Central Auditing Commission: The report of the Central Auditing Commission was approved

- According to the report of the CCC-RCI: The activities of the CCC-RCI were approved.

- According to the report of the delegation of the CPSU (b) in the Executive Committee of the Communist International: The political line and practical work of the delegation of the CPSU (b) in the Comintern have been approved.

In the field of economic development

- The results of the first five-year plan have been summed up.
- The second five-year plan for the development of the national economy of the USSR (1933-1937) was adopted, which provided for the transformation of the USSR into a "techno-economically independent country and the most technically advanced state in Europe."
- The program for the completion of the technical reconstruction of the entire national economy and the growth of production in the second five-year period was approved, presented by the State Planning Committee of the USSR, and adopted by the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks and the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR.

Established:

- control figures for the volume of production;
- directions for the implementation of technical reconstruction of the national economy;
- measures to increase labor productivity and reduce costs;
- growth of production throughout agriculture (2 times);
- measures for the complete completion of collectivization and implementation of the technical reconstruction of all agriculture;
- growth in the turnover of the main types of transport;
- directions of technical reconstruction of transport and communications;
- directions (program) of personnel training;

- the need for the broadest expansion of the work of scientific and technical institutes, and especially factory laboratories;
- the total volume of capital work on the national economy for the second five years in the amount of 133.4 billion rubles. (in 1933 prices) against 50.5 billion in the first five years;
- commissioning of new and reconstructed enterprises for the second five years with a total cost of 132 billion rubles. against 38.6 billion rubles. in the first five-year plan;
- the most important construction sites;
- directions for the distribution of productive forces (including the creation of new support bases for industrialization in the eastern regions of the Union (Ural, Western and Eastern Siberia, Bashkiria, Far East Kazakhstan, Kazakhstan, and Central Asia);
- a program to improve the material and cultural level of workers and peasants, and tasks in the area of raising the material and cultural standard of living of workers and workers in the countryside.

The congress determined that the second five-year plan for the development of the national economy should solve 5 tasks:

- Elimination of capitalist elements and classes in general, final liquidation, on the basis of complete completion of collectivization of peasant farms and cooperation of all handicraftsmen, private ownership of the means of production; the elimination of the multi-structured economy of the Soviet Union and the establishment of the socialist mode of production as the only mode of production, with the transformation of the entire working population of the country into active and conscious builders of socialist society;
- Completion of the technical reconstruction of the entire national economy of the USSR on the basis created during the first five-year plan and following the path of a further rapid rise in industry that produces means of production (heavy industry);
- A more rapid rise in the well-being of the workers and peasants and, at the same time, a decisive improvement in the entire housing and communal affairs in the USSR;

- Strengthening the economic and political positions of the proletarian dictatorship on the basis of an alliance of the working class with the peasantry for the final elimination of capitalist elements and classes in general;
- Further strengthening of the country's defense capability.

The Congress elected:

Central Committee: 71 members, 68 candidates for members of the Central Committee.

Central Auditing Commission: 22 members.

Party Control Commission: 61 members.

E8/32

ИРСТС

ПРОЛЕТАРИИ ВСЕХ СТРАН, СОЕДИНЯЙТЕСЬ!



XVI

# ВСЕРОССИЙСКИЙ СЪЕЗД СОВЕТОВ

15—23 января 1935 года

(стенографический отчет)

Издание ВЦИК

## **Sixteenth All-Russian Congress of Soviets: January 15-23, 1935**

Verbatim Report. Moscow: All-Russian Central Executive Committee, [1935]. - Obl., [708] p.

Verbatim report of the All-Russian XI Congress of Soviets, held on January 15-23, 1935 in Moscow. The congress discussed issues of public utilities, medicine, amendments were made to the Constitution of the RSFSR.

### **Resolution of the XVI All-Russian Congress of Soviets**

On amendments to Articles 32, 37, 38, 40, 41, 47, 76 and 80 of the Constitution (Basic Law) of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic

January 23, 1935

In connection with the publication of legislative acts of the USSR on the division of the People's Commissariat of Supply of the USSR into two independent people's commissariats - the People's Commissariat of Internal Trade of the USSR and the People's Commissariat of the Food Industry of the USSR, on the abolition of the People's Commissariats of Workers 'and Peasants' Inspection of the USSR, RSFSR and ASSR on the unification of the People's Commissariat of Labor of the USSR with the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, on the formation of the People's Commissariats of Internal Affairs of the USSR, Internal Trade of the USSR, RSFSR and ASSR, communal services of the RSFSR and ASSR and local industry of the RSFSR and ASSR, as well as on the budgets of autonomous Soviet socialist republics and organizational measures in the field of Soviet and economic construction - the XVI All-Russian Congress of Soviets decides:

To amend the following articles of the Constitution (Basic Law) of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, stating them in the following wording:

1. "32. The composition of the Council of People's Commissars of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic includes, as its members, the chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, his deputy and

the people's commissars specified in Art. 37 of the Constitution (Basic Law) of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic.

The Council of People's Commissars of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic also includes representatives of the All-Union People's Commissariats, appointed in accordance with the all-Union legislation and having the right of an advisory or decisive vote, in accordance with the decision of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of Soviets or its Presidium, as well as other persons by resolutions of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of the Soviets ".

2. "37. The following People's Commissariats are formed for direct management of individual branches of government within the remit of the Council of People's Commissars of the RSFSR: Agriculture, Internal Trade, Finance, Local Industry, Utilities, Justice, Education, Health, Social Security, and the State Planning Commission.

3. "38. The People's Commissariats of Agriculture, Internal Trade and Finance of the RSFSR, subordinate to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, its Presidium, and the Council of People's Commissars of the RSFSR, carry out in their activities the directives of the corresponding people's commissariats of the USSR. "

4. "40. At each people's commissariat, a Council of the People's Commissariat is formed, convened periodically with the participation of representatives of its local organizations and enterprises. "

5. "41. The People's Commissar has the right to make decisions on all issues that are subject to the jurisdiction of the relevant People's Commissariat. "

6. "47. The central executive committees of the autonomous Soviet socialist republics form their own executive bodies - the councils of people's commissars, consisting of: the chairman of the council of people's commissars, people's commissars of justice, education, health care, social security, agriculture, finance, utilities, local industry, internal trade, and the chairman of the state planning commission.



The People's Commissariats of Agriculture, Finance, Public Utilities, Local Industry, and Internal Trade, being subordinate to the Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars of the respective Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, are obliged to fulfill the directives of the People's Commissariats of the same name of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.

Depending on local living conditions, the central executive committees of the autonomous Soviet socialist republics have the right to reduce the number of people's commissariats and accordingly change the composition of the council of people's commissars. "

7. "76. All state revenues and all expenditures of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic are combined in the national budget. "

8. "80. The republican revenues and expenditures of the autonomous Soviet socialist republics that are part of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic are combined in the republican budgets of these republics.

The republican budgets of the autonomous Soviet socialist republics are adopted by the councils of people's commissars and approved by the central executive committees of these republics. "

Chairman of the XVI All-Russian Congress of Soviets      Secretary of  
the XVI All-Russian Congress of Soviets

M. Kalinin      A. Kiselev

Moscow Kremlin

7233480/1 ✓



Пролетарии всех стран, соединяйтесь!

# ЧРЕЗВЫЧАЙНЫЙ XVII ВСЕРОССИЙСКИЙ СЪЕЗД СОВЕТОВ

БЮЛЛЕТЕНЬ № 1

## заседание первое

вечернее, 15 января 1937 г.

*Появление в зале товарищей Калинина, Сулимова, Молотова, Дамитрова, Ворошилова, Жданова, Андреева, Орджоникидзе, Хрущева, Петровского, Киселева и Кагановича встречается бурными аплодисментами. Все встают.*

*Появление товарища Сталина зал встречает бурной овацией. Со всех сторон раздаются приветственные возгласы в честь товарища Сталина: «Да здравствует товарищ Сталин! Ура», «Ура товарищу Сталину!». Громкое, долго несмолкающее «ура» перекачивается по залу.*

**Калинин.** По поручению Всероссийского Центрального Исполнительного Комитета... (Голос из зала: Да здравствует товарищ Сталин! Ура! Зал отвечает мощным «ура»! Голоса: Ура товарищу Сталину!).

Товарищи, по поручению Всероссийского Центрального Исполнительного Комитета приветствую делегатов Чрезвычайного XVII Съезда Советов Российской Советской Федеративной Социалистической Республики, собравшихся для обсуждения проекта новой Конституции РСФСР. (Аплодисменты).

Успехи социалистического строительства в Советском Союзе получили свое яркое и четкое выражение в Сталинской Конституции (овации в честь товарища Сталина. Из зала несутся возгласы: «Да здравствует тво-

1238/1

## **Seventeenth Extraordinary All-Russian Congress of Soviets. 15-21 January 1937**

[Moscow]: All-Russian Central Executive Committee, [1937] (typ. Publishing house "Power of the Soviets"). - Obl., [383] p.

Verbatim report of the All-Russian XVI Congress of Soviets, held on January 15-21, 1937 in Moscow. A new Constitution of the RSFSR was approved at the congress.

According to the credentials committee of the congress, 1388 delegates attended. Social composition of delegates:

workers 47.6%

peasants 16.0%

other 36.4%

Report on the draft Constitution of the RSFSR of 1937 reviewed to consider amendments and additions to the draft and to develop the final text of the Constitution, the congress formed an editorial commission of 164 people. On January 21, 1937, after the report of the chairman of the editorial committee M.I. Kalinin, as a result of article-by-article voting, the congress approved the final text of the new Constitution of the RSFSR of 1937.

The congress adopted a resolution obliging the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of the 16th convocation, on the basis of the new Constitution of the RSFSR, to develop and approve the Regulations on elections, as well as to establish the timing of elections to the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR.

**ХУІІІ СЪЕЗД  
ВСЕСОЮЗНОЙ  
КОММУНИСТИЧЕСКОЙ  
ПАРТИИ (б)**

**СТЕНОГРАФИЧЕСКИЙ  
ОТЧЕТ**

## **Eighteenth Congress of the All-Union Communist Party (b). 10-21 March 1939**

The Eighteenth Congress of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) was held in Moscow on March 10-21, 1939. 1,569 delegates with a casting vote and 466 with an advisory vote represented 1,588,852 party members and 888,814 candidates for party members.

The order of the day: Reports of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) (IV Stalin), the Central Auditing Commission (MF Vladimirsky) and the delegation of the CPSU (b) in the ECCI (DZ Manuilsky); The Third Five-Year Plan for the Development of the National Economy of the USSR (VM Molotov); Changes in the Charter of the CPSU (b) (A.A. Zhdanov); Election of a commission to change the Program of the CPSU (b); Election of the central bodies of the party.

The report of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks gave an analysis of the country's international and internal situation, and the prospects for its development. The congress noted that the socialist mode of production had become dominant, that socialism was basically built in the USSR and the country had entered a new phase of development - the completion of the construction of a socialist society. The task was set - to catch up and overtake in the economic respect the most developed capitalist countries. The report examined theoretical questions about the stages of development and functions of the socialist state, condemned as erroneous views about the imminent withering away of the state. The congress adopted a new Party Charter, reflecting changes in the class structure of Soviet society.

The division into categories depending on belonging to a particular social group was canceled. The charter was supplemented with a clause on the rights of party members. The procedure for closed (secret) voting was established for elections of party bodies. The charter canceled massive purges. The rights of primary party organizations were expanded, and their responsibility for the implementation of party decisions increased. Party organizations of industrial enterprises, including state farms, collective farms, and

MTS, were given the right to control the activities of the administration. To strengthen party leadership of the economy, the Central Committee of the party could create political departments and select party organizers in decisive sectors of socialist construction. The congress approved the third five-year plan for the development of the national economy of the USSR. The congress elected the Party Central Committee, consisting of 71 members and 68 candidates for members of the Central Committee and the Central Auditing Commission - 50 members. The 18th Congress summed up the results of the transition period from capitalism to socialism.

ХІХ съезд  
ВКП(б) – КПСС  
(5 – 14 октября 1952 года)

Документы  
и  
материалы

## **Nineteenth Congress of the CPSU (b) - October 5-14, 1952**

XIX Congress of the CPSU (b) - The CPSU is the only party congress, the materials of which were not published in a separate publication.

The publication contains pre-congress documents of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b), reports made at the congress, speeches by delegates and guests of the congress, greetings to the congress, decisions taken by the congress and a number of other materials.

On the eve of the opening of the congress in the magazine "Bolshevik" (No. 18) and in the newspaper "Pravda" (No. 277 and 278 of October 3 and 4) the work of I.V. **Stalin "Economic problems of socialism in the USSR."** On the same days it came out as a separate edition. Since this work largely determined the speeches of the congress participants and the decisions adopted by the congress, it is also included in this publication.

## **XIX CONGRESS OF THE PARTY**

A whole historical era lied between the 18th and 19th Party Congresses. History does not know a period more eventful of world significance than this one:

in the last pre-war years, the development of the national economy and the growth of the defense potential of our country continued;

the world-historical Victory in the Great Patriotic War was won;

in the pre-war years and following the results of World War II, the territory of the USSR expanded, which led to the emergence of new regional and republican party organizations;

in the post-war years, not only was it restored destroyed by the war, but the pre-war level of development of the national economy was significantly exceeded;

atomic weapons were created in the Soviet Union;



the world socialist system has appeared on the international arena;

in many countries of the world, communist and workers' parties have received legal status;

the collapse of the colonial system began;

our country has acquired unconditional international authority;

The Soviet Union became a permanent member of the UN Security Council.

All this meant that fundamentally new tasks of communist construction were on the agenda, which were planned to be formulated and ways to solve them in the new edition of the Party Program.

The 19th Congress will forever remain the only truly triumphant party congress in its entire history.

The 19th congress was the last Stalinist party congress. Therefore, the materials of the congress give a detailed picture of the legacy left behind by Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin as the leader of the Communist Party and the Soviet state, as the recognized leader of the world communist and workers' movement.

The next, XX Congress of the CPSU was not only post-Stalinist, but also anti-Stalinist. The vector of development of the party, society, and country, outlined by the XIX Congress, was broken. This immediately had a negative impact on the international communist and workers' movement and had long-term tragic consequences for the Soviet Union.

## **FORWARD**

For the attention of all organizations of the CPSU (b)

The other day, a plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) was held in Moscow.

The Central Committee of the CPSU (b) decided to convene the next XIX Congress of the CPSU (b) on October 5, 1952.

**The order of the day of the XIX Congress:**

1. Report of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) - speaker Secretary of the Central Committee comrade. Malenkov G.M.
2. Report of the Central Auditing Commission of the CPSU (b) - rapporteur Chairman of the Auditing Commission com. Moskatov P.G.
3. Directives of the XIX Party Congress on the fifth five-year plan for the development of the USSR for 1951 - 1955 - rapporteur Chairman of the State Planning Committee comrade. Saburov M.Z.
4. Changes in the Charter of the CPSU (b) - Reporter Secretary of the Central Committee com. Khrushchev N.S.
5. Election of the central bodies of the party.

The norm of representation and the procedure for electing delegates to the congress:

- 1) One delegate with a casting vote for 5,000 party members;
- 2) one delegate with an advisory vote for 5.000 candidates for party members.
- 3) Delegates to the XIX Party Congress are elected in accordance with the Party Charter by closed (secret) ballot.
- 4) Delegates from the RSFSR party organizations are elected at party conferences in regions, territories, and autonomous republics. In other union republics, delegates are elected at regional party conferences or at congresses of the communist parties of the union republics - at the discretion of the Central Committee of the communist parties of the union republics.
- 5) Communists who are members of the party organizations of the Soviet Army, the Navy, and the border units of the MGB elect delegates to the 19th party congress along with other party

organizations at regional, territorial party conferences or congresses of the communist parties of the union republics.

Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) I. Stalin

(Pravda, No. 233, August 20, 1952)

Project of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks)

Directives of the 19th Party Congress on the fifth five-year plan for the development of the USSR for 1951 - 1955

(3rd point of the order of the day of the congress)

The successful fulfillment of the fourth five-year plan makes it possible to adopt a new five-year plan, which will ensure the further development of all branches of the national economy, the growth of material well-being, health care and the cultural level of the people.

In accordance with this, the XIX Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union considers it necessary to give the Central Committee of the Party and the Council of Ministers of the USSR the following directives on the fifth five-year plan for the development of the USSR for 1951-1955.

I. In the field of industry

II. In the field of agriculture

III. In the field of goods turnover, transport, and communication

IV. In the field of further growth of material well-being, health care and cultural level

The XIX Party Congress decides:

The All-Union Communist Party of the Bolsheviks (VKP / b /) will henceforth be called the "Communist Party of the Soviet Union" (CPSU).

Resolution on changes in the Charter of the CPSU (b)

(Adopted unanimously on October 13, 1952)

The 19th Party Congress decides:

1. To approve the draft Party Rules presented by the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) with amendments and additions by the congress commission.
2. To consider henceforth the Party Charter approved by the Congress - the Charter of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Entire 19<sup>th</sup> congress documents in English may be downloaded from the site;

<https://neodemocracy.blogspot.com/2020/11/xix-congress-of-cpsu-b-cpsu-october-5.html>

“socialism cannot achieve victory simultaneously in all countries. It will achieve victory first in one or several countries” Lenin

“...when we are told that the victory of socialism is possible only on a world scale, we regard this merely as an attempt, a particularly hopeless attempt, on the part of the bourgeoisie and its voluntary and involuntary supporters to distort the irrefutable truth.” Lenin

